

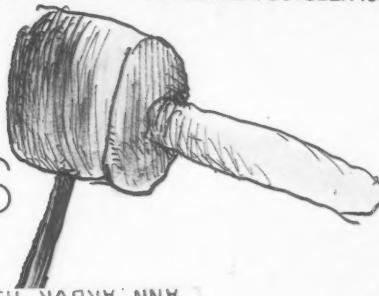
Face-off in the Locker Room ■ Odd Man Out: Kennedy, the Press, the Primaries

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

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The thought is from Thoreau. The interpretation by Corita Kent of Immaculate Heart College.

*"It is not enough to be busy...The question is,
what are we busy about?"*

Each day, the broadcaster faces two tasks. Tasks which at times might seem to conflict.

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As is its power to open the minds and hearts of its audience.

And that, ultimately, is what we as broadcasters are determined to be busy about.



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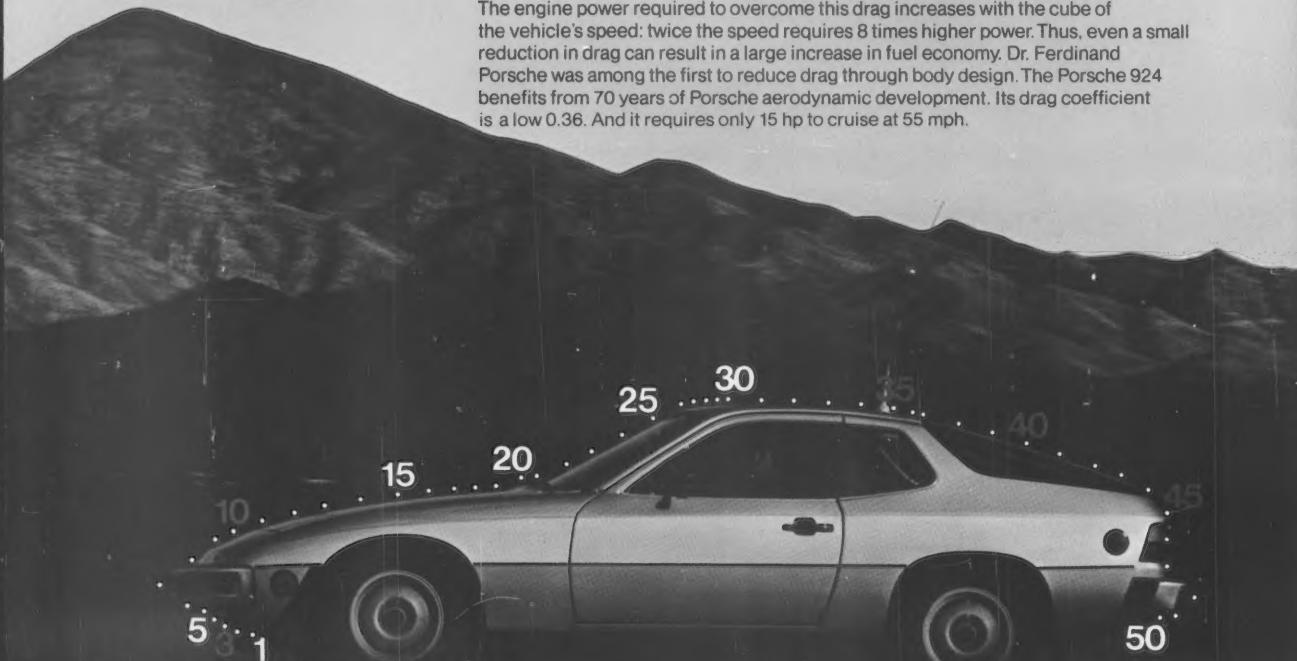
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it is not enough
to be busy...
the question is:
what are we busy
about?

Thoreau

Corita

Air resists the movement of a vehicle passing through it. Resistance increases with the square of the vehicle's speed: twice the speed produces 4 times the resistance. The engine power required to overcome this drag increases with the cube of the vehicle's speed: twice the speed requires 8 times higher power. Thus, even a small reduction in drag can result in a large increase in fuel economy. Dr. Ferdinand Porsche was among the first to reduce drag through body design. The Porsche 924 benefits from 70 years of Porsche aerodynamic development. Its drag coefficient is a low 0.36. And it requires only 15 hp to cruise at 55 mph.



Air does not impact uniformly on a moving vehicle. In fact, air-flow creates zones of high and low pressure on a vehicle's surface. The 924 is designed to take advantage of this phenomenon. (See diagram below and corresponding numbers on car above.)

For example, the air that passes beneath a moving vehicle tends to collect, compress, and build a cushion between the vehicle and the ground, contributing to lift.

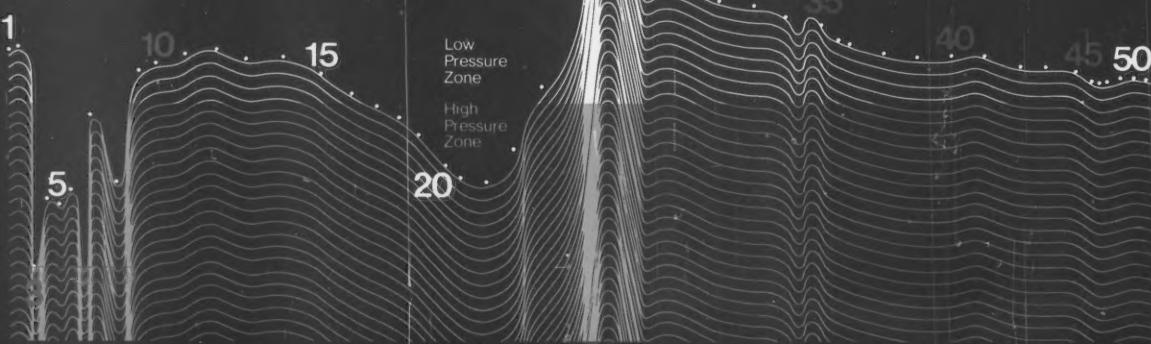
The 924 helps reduce lift with its integral chin spoiler (3) and low nose (10). At 100 mph, lift-forces measured at the 924's front

and rear wheels are only 46 and 105 lbs., respectively.

Crosswinds can affect a vehicle's directional control at high speeds. Reaction to crosswinds is determined largely by the relative location of the vehicle's center of aerodynamic pressure to its center of gravity.

The elevated rear deck (34-45) places the 924's center of aerodynamic pressure slightly behind its center of gravity. Thus, sidewinds tend to bring the 924's nose into the wind, in a self-correcting motion.

Many of the 924's aerodynamic features are apparent in its clean styling. But their true merit shows best in actual driving. Test drive the Porsche 924. For your nearest Porsche + Audi Dealer, call toll-free: (800) 447-4700. In Illinois, (800) 322-4400.



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To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.

—Excerpt from the *Review's* founding editorial, Autumn 1961

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CHRONICLE

Going home to prison

In late May, Alcibiades González Delvalle, one of Paraguay's most respected newspaper columnists, arrived in the U.S. for a routine one-month tour sponsored by the International Communication Agency (formerly the U.S. Information Agency). But a week into the trip, while in Kansas, González, who also heads Paraguay's fledgling Journalists' Union, was informed that a warrant was out for his arrest in his home city, Asunción. Issued under the sweeping antisubversion Law 209, the warrant accused González of undermining Paraguay's legal system by writing an article detailing poor treatment of prisoners.

Faced with virtually certain arrest and the possibility of a prison term lasting anywhere from one month to three years, the forty-three-year-old González nonetheless resolved to return home. He spent his remaining weeks in the U.S. seeking both support and publicity from major news organizations in New York and Washington. Shortly before leaving New York, González, a columnist for *ABC Color*, Paraguay's largest newspaper, explained to the *Review* why he had made his decision. "Only if I go back to prison," he said, "is it certain that the movement toward press freedom will continue in Paraguay."

González flew out of New York on June 24 via Pan American airlines, expecting to be arrested on his arrival in Asunción; to his surprise, he was greeted instead by his family and some forty concerned journalists. But the police were not long in striking. Early the following morning, González and his lawyer set out to walk to a judge's chambers in downtown Asunción to discuss the warrant; barely fifty yards from the judge's office, plainclothesmen grabbed González and shoved him into a waiting taxi, which drove him to police headquarters. Later that day, González was transferred to the National Penitentiary on the outskirts of town, where he was temporarily kept incommunicado.

This was not González's first confrontation with the harsh regime of General Alfredo Stroessner, the country's president since 1954. Last November, he was imprisoned for a remark in his column regarding French Minister of Labor Robert Boulin, who, he noted, had committed suicide be-

cause the French people had come to doubt his honesty. González went on to observe that if officials in Paraguay were equally sensitive, a national emergency would result because there would be no room for all the graves. That quip earned its author forty-four days in solitary confinement.

This time, the government's displeasure was provoked by one of a series of investigative articles on Paraguay's Kafkaesque criminal justice system. The article described the fortunes of a young man who had stolen the equivalent of about \$40. After spending two months in jail, he was granted a release, but the actual order to free him did not arrive until seven years later. The article quoted the attorney general as saying that no offense had been committed; that, on the contrary, the government had done the prisoner a favor by feeding him all those years. The story also recounted the case of a criminal who escaped prosecution for murder because of his friendship with ranking members of the Paraguayan government.

The government's detention of González to some degree reflects the popularity of his

articles; a recent survey found that 60 percent of *ABC Color*'s 80,000 readers follow his column. But González is also a natural target of the regime because of his role as secretary general of Paraguay's year-old Journalists' Union, to which some 220 newspaper and radio journalists belong. (News people who work at state-owned TV stations are government employees and hence not eligible for union membership.) The union has angered the government by working to expand press freedom in Paraguay. Even though the country's privately-owned newspapers — *La Tribuna*, *Ultima Hora*, *Hoy*, and *ABC Color* — are not subject to direct censorship, the government's subsecretary of the press, Aníbal Fernandez, has on occasion threatened to imprison journalists who step out of line and has pressured publishers into firing reporters critical of the government. Fernandez has also been known to accuse journalists of being Communist infiltrators, a label that often effectively blacklists them from work in the profession.

Despite these restraints, according to González, journalists have become more

Last hours of freedom: Alcibiades González waits at Kennedy for flight to Paraguay



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willing to criticize the Stroessner government over the last five years. "The movement began timidly but is changing drastically," he said in New York. "We are now more courageous. And although the government has taken many people prisoner, it is more susceptible to international pressure." He points in particular to the role played by the millions of foreign dollars being poured into the Itaipú dam, a joint Paraguay-Brazil hydroelectric project that is the world's largest. "Whereas previously Paraguay was much more isolated," he said, "the govern-

ment is [now] more sensitive to criticism from outside."

González's own case is proof of that: pressure from abroad was working on his behalf from the moment his plane touched down in Asunción. According to colleagues, the police refrained from arresting González at Asunción's airport only because the government was embarrassed by a UPI dispatch sent from New York quoting González's expectation that he would be seized as soon as he set foot on Paraguayan soil. Reports of his arrest have since appeared in *The New York*

Times, in Jack Anderson's syndicated column, and in dispatches from Reuters and the Italian agency ANSA. These, too, apparently have already had an effect: González, although still in jail, has been moved from solitary confinement and can now receive visitors. The real test of the effectiveness of such coverage, however, will be how long the authorities choose to wait before sentencing González — a wait that could become years.

Laurie Nadel

Laurie Nadel writes for CBS News.

Cameras on trial

In many ways, *Chandler v. State of Florida* was just another cops-and-robbers case on a glutted court docket. But two things singled it out: the accused robbers were two cops, and the 1977 trial was one of the first to be televised in Florida.

The proceeding was televised as part of a one-year experimental program to allow cameras in the courtroom — the first of its kind in the country. Since then, Florida has made the program permanent; what's more, some twenty-five other states have followed its lead and now permit some form of televised trials. But the final resolution of *Chandler v. Florida* could reverse that trend. When the case comes before the Supreme Court on appeal this fall, the Justices' decision could at last determine the constitutionality of opening criminal trials to TV cameras, as well as to still photographers and tape recorders.

"The courtroom must be closed to the camera's eye," states Miami attorney Joel Hirschhorn in his brief for the two former policemen. Because their trial wasn't, he will argue that the Court should overturn their convictions. "The central issue," Hirschhorn says in his Supreme Court brief, "is whether the electronic media's right to access to the courtroom is superior to the accused's right to a fair and impartial trial and to due process of law."

The case has sent news organizations scrambling to prepare "friend of the court" briefs in opposition to Hirschhorn's arguments. The Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) has filed a brief on behalf of itself and eleven other groups, including the National Association of Broadcasters, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the Society of Professional Journalists, the Associated Press Managing Editors, ABC, and NBC.

Proponents of courtroom cameras observe that TV equipment today is much less intrusive



John Pheda, The Miami Herald

Eye on
the court:
*Chandler
v. Florida,*
on camera

than it once was and hence less likely to distract jurors or witnesses. Furthermore, they argue, TV cameras can vastly increase the viewing citizen's awareness of what goes on in the courtroom. "The mechanics of television coverage, plus the fact that it has played so large a role in bringing news of the criminal justice system to the average American, simply makes the case for [giving TV] equal access with the print media to courtrooms," says Clem Work, staff attorney at the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press.

At this point, of course, no one can say how comprehensive the Court's decision will be. Larry Scharff, general counsel for RTNDA, says he doubts the Court will issue a clear-cut decision one way or the other. "If we win, I don't think it will result in [all] states being told they have to open up all the courts." And a loss, he says, would probably not outlaw televised trials completely but "could mean we'll lose cameras and microphones in a criminal trial if the defendant

objects. But I don't think the Court would say [cameras in the courtroom] are unfair even if a defendant consents." Florida is one of a dozen or so states that allows cameras over a defendant's objections.

Noel Chandler and Robert Granger were two Miami Beach policemen who were accused of breaking into an Italian restaurant in that city and stealing \$3,000. During the trial, Hirschhorn repeatedly objected to the presence of cameras from local TV stations. He held that the cameras were trained on the state's witnesses but neglected to stay around for cross-examination or presentation of the defendants' case. Hirschhorn's brief states that "neither James Madison, the draftsmen of the Bill of Rights, the States [ratifying] the first ten amendments, nor this Court, ever contemplated that the accused's right to a public trial would somehow be twisted to provide unlimited access to courtrooms by the (broadcast) media under either the First or Sixth Amendments."

Hirschhorn does not claim there is specific

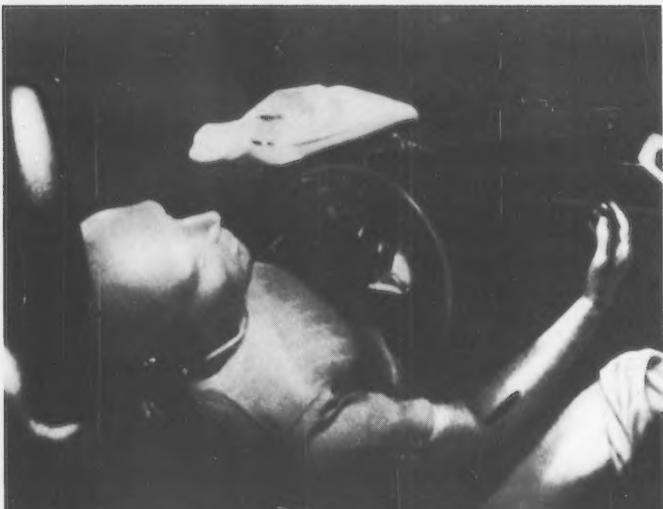
Both of these test dummies without One was protected by an

More than 116,000,000 automobiles will be driven over a trillion miles on our nation's roads this year. Unfortunately, over 25,000,000 accidents will happen. Some will be fender-benders, but many will not. Millions of drivers and occupants will be injured; 27,000 or more of them will die.

What's being done to reduce serious injury in auto accidents?

Many state governments are actively pursuing tougher driving and highway safety rules and regulations, lower speed limits and vehicle inspection programs.

Following the urging of safety and medical experts, and the results of auto crash tests, the Federal Government in 1968 made lap and shoulder belts standard safety equipment in all cars sold in the U.S. A new Federal Standard requires that all full-size 1982 model cars automatically protect front seat occupants from serious injury in head-on or front-angle crashes up to 30 mph.



Test dummy, unbelted, in 1975 Volvo sedan without an air bag protection system hitting a test barrier at 35 miles per hour.

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were crashed at 35mph seat belts. air bag restraint system.



Test dummy, unbelted, in 1975 Volvo sedan equipped with an air bag protection system hitting a test barrier at 35 miles per hour.

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CHRONICLE

evidence showing that TV cameras affected the outcome of the trial. "What we're dealing with here," he says, "is the intangible," such as the effects of the cameras on judges, jurors, witnesses, and the defendants themselves. "The verdict may very well have been the same without the cameras — but we'll never know."

The effects of courtroom cameras are often complex. Hirschhorn cites last spring's televised trial of four white Dade County policemen who were acquitted in the beating death of a black insurance man, Arthur McDuffie. Shortly after the verdict, riots broke out. "While the riots were largely a result of economic and housing disparity problems in Miami's Black community," states Hirschhorn's brief, "the one event which lit the fuse was the drama of seeing, on television, the acquittal of four white Dade County police officers who had been charged with beating a black man to death."

His brief cites the opinion of George Gerbner, dean of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications, on the televising of the McDuffie trial: "It is a chilling example of what happens when television selects a trial to televise. Such coverage arouses the emotions of people who might not attend to the news otherwise. What happened in Miami is a very high price to pay for a very little gain." (See "Reports," p. 80.)

The debate over cameras in the courtroom reaches back to the heavily covered Lindbergh trial of Bruno Hauptmann in

1935. Shocked by the behavior of radio newsmen at that trial, and determined to stop any further intrusion on the judicial process, the American Bar Association adopted a professional canon prohibiting the broadcasting of trials. But that stricture, which did not have the force of law, was ignored in some states, beginning in 1953, when cameras were allowed into an Oklahoma City courtroom. The televising of trials received a setback in 1965, when the Supreme Court overturned the swindling conviction of Billie Sol Estes on the ground that the use of cameras in the courtroom had been so disruptive as to deprive him of a fair trial. But, beginning with Florida's pioneering 1977 experiment, more and more states have sought to fashion laws that would permit television coverage of trials under conditions that would not violate the rights of defendants. The *Chandler* case could now determine how well they've succeeded.

For Joel Hirschhorn, a founder and a past president of the First Amendment Lawyers Association, the decision to take an all-out stand against cameras in the courtroom has not come easily. "It's been a difficult question for me to resolve," he says. "I believe the First Amendment was intended to be absolute. But I also believe the press will survive a wrong decision, while a guy who is wrongfully convicted can never get back five years of his life."

Mary Voboril

Mary Voboril covers the federal courts for The Miami Herald.

Double play

The New York Times, June 23



(Jackson, Miss.) Clarion-Ledger, June 23



Plugging in to the power company

In mid-May, the *Albuquerque Journal*, New Mexico's leading newspaper, published a six-part series on electric energy in New Mexico that took a particularly close look at the state's biggest power utility, Public Service Company of New Mexico. The company was not happy with the series. Albert J. Robison, vice president for finance, complained in a letter to the *Journal* on May 25 that the articles were "replete with distortions, untimely comparisons, and unfounded accusations."

That wasn't the strongest attack on the series. Mark D. Acuff, editor and co-owner of the weekly *New Mexico Independent*, published in Albuquerque, wrote a front-page response to the series on May 30, accusing the *Journal* of planting "a butcher knife in the utility's back" by running articles filled with "half truths, well worn clichés about utilities, innuendo and some outright lies."

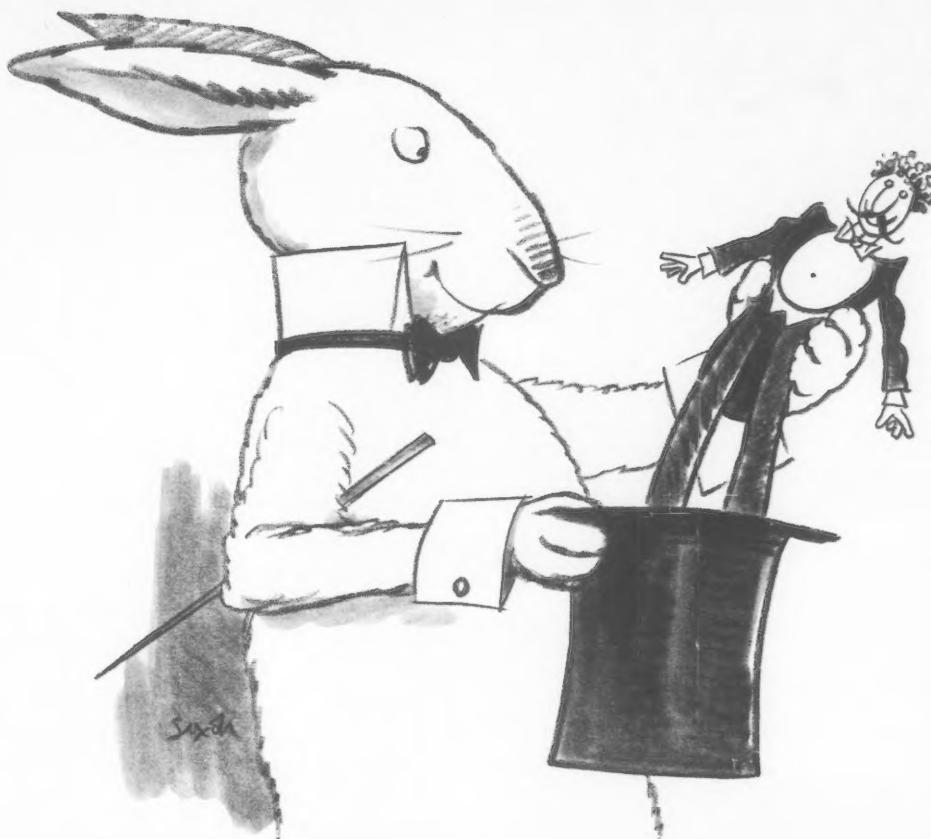
Now, the *Independent*, circulation about 7,500, is richer by \$25,000 — thanks to the purchase of about 5,000 subscriptions by Public Service, a gesture that the company's vice president for public affairs, James B. "Bud" Mulcock, Jr., says is intended to show the utility's appreciation of the *Independent's* response.

The *Journal* series that so displeased Public Service included one story that examined the "indexing" arrangement by which consumer rates rise or fall in step with the company's ability to provide a specified rate of return to stockholders. Another installment described Public Service's part ownership of a company from which it buys coal.

Acuff's attack on the series was consistent with the *Independent's* coverage of energy over the last five years, during which the eighty-five-year-old paper has vigorously campaigned for the industry and savaged its critics. In February, for instance, the *Independent* called another weekly's critical story on Public Service an "unwarranted, vicious attack on our local utility."

Mulcock says that because of Acuff's "journalistic integrity" he is not worried about the appearance of paying for favorable coverage. Acuff himself insists no deal was made and views the subscription purchase as the none-too-surprising consequence of the paper's energy coverage. "I don't expect anyone to buy subscriptions who doesn't approve of the way we have been running the paper," he says. In any case, the new funds have come in handy, enabling the *Independent*

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There's nothing magic about our methods. We simply give high priority to energy conservation—to researching and developing techniques, teaching and training, promoting and publicizing . . . teaming up with our consumer-members to reduce energy consumption.

We rely heavily on personal visits, conducting and showing our members how to conduct energy audits. In addition, we pass along energy conservation hints, tips and information in handout booklets, bill stuffers, and features in our various local publications.

Many cooperatives have ongoing weatherization loan programs and load management projects involving utility-controlled devices which turn off high-demand equipment at certain times. In hundreds of areas across the country, our consumers are using voluntary controls—operating kilowatt-hungry appliances and equipment during offpeak periods.

For 1980 alone we've budgeted about \$25-million and two million employee hours for eliminating waste and improving efficiency in use of electricity.

Certainly, rising power costs encourage thrifty use. But going beyond pocketbook considerations, we and our consumers believe energy conservation is important as a way to stretch resources, to safeguard our nation's well-being, security and economic stability . . . while seeking lasting solutions to critical energy problems.

America's 1000 rural electric systems report: Energy conservation works.



America's Rural Electric Cooperatives
and Power Districts

For more information about the ways we're conserving energy,
write Dept J, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association,
1800 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

dent to upgrade its facilities through purchase of modern typesetting equipment.

The *Independent* is now trying to interest other organizations in buying group subscriptions, including New Mexicans for Jobs and Energy, a pronuclear group, and Gas Co. of New Mexico, the state's largest natural gas utility (about which the *Independent* has also written favorably). "I would like to diversify," says Acuff, "so it doesn't look like we are dealing with PNM (Public Service) only."

Peter Katel

Peter Katel is a free-lance writer in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Heralding help for Miami

Stirred by the riots that tore Miami apart last May, *The Miami Herald* decided to go beyond mere reporting. On June 1, the paper launched an appeal for community contributions to "I Want To Help," a fund to pay disadvantaged youths, mostly black, while they learned trade skills in public schools. By the time the campaign ended on July 1, more than \$145,000 had been raised, enough to sponsor more than 350 young people.

The Knight-Ridder paper undertook the campaign as a means to counter "an ugly mood in the white community," says executive editor John McMullan, who helped conceive the fund. Its success, he adds, "did prove that this is not a community of nothing but bigots." Some *Herald* staff members were less sanguine. One who objected publicly was Joe Oglesby, the *Herald*'s black columnist, who wrote on June 23 that "I Want To Help is a good idea that does nothing." While not questioning the paper's sincerity in sponsoring the fund, Oglesby, elaborating on his column, says the campaign "smacks of paternalism" and offers only the same old solutions to black problems — "throw a little bit of money on it."

Oglesby also says he fears that the *Herald*'s activities as a fund-raiser could impair its credibility as an objective provider of news. And others in the *Herald* newsroom, though not bothered by the fund-raising itself, did question the paper's decision to play the campaign as a news story. Throughout most of the month-long campaign, the "I Want To Help" logo appeared almost daily on the front page of the local section and was often accompanied by an upbeat story on the project's progress; inside, there appeared a list of contributors and their donations. On June 17, when the training program began,

the story received a half-page in the local section.

Most of the staff, however, seemed unperturbed. Some contributed their own money to the fund (and were duly listed among the contributors). Earni Young, the *Herald*'s consumer reporter, who covered the fund-raising (and who is black), says the effort was worthwhile because it's "the only damned thing that's been done."

The riots in the Liberty City district no doubt heightened the *Herald*'s awareness of its own sensitive place in the Miami community; during the violence, even its black reporters did not carry notepads for fear of becoming targets. The *Herald*, says Oglesby, "is perceived as racist in the black community by almost everybody." The charge, he says, while not completely accurate, is understandable, since the paper's 400-person newsroom staff includes only twenty blacks.

The fund-raising campaign is not the only effort the *Herald* is making to win the confidence of Miami blacks. According to *Herald* executives, the paper is also aggressively recruiting more black reporters and editors. The city's black community will be watching closely for tangible results.

Ana M. Rodriguez

A run for the money

For many years, New York newspaper publishers have longed to put out a paper containing the late New York Stock Exchange prices and still get it on newsstands in time for the commuter rush home. Until recently, the city's only afternoon paper, the *New York Post*, included prices only up to 1:30 P.M., two and a half hours before the Big Board's final bell. To wait any longer before going to press, it was believed, would make it impossible to transport the papers through the clogged streets of Manhattan at rush hour. This summer, however, Michael Goldstein, former publisher of the Soho Weekly News, gambled \$700,000 to prove the common wisdom wrong. In June, Goldstein introduced *The Wall Street Final*, a five-day-a-week tabloid containing late-breaking news and sports and — its *raison d'être* — five pages of the latest stock prices. (Initially, the first edition contained 3:30 prices, and the second, closing prices.) Had the Final managed to succeed where others failed? A reporter went to find out.

Tuesday, July 15, 3:33 P.M.: The 3:30 stock prices are clattering out over the wire in the

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THE CONDO OPTION: IS IT RIGHT FOR YOU?

As anyone who has been house hunting can tell you, houses are expensive. They can also be costly and time-consuming to maintain. As a result, many people are turning to condominiums as an affordable alternative. During the last decade, the total number of condo units has increased nearly tenfold, to over 2 million units, and most experts expect the condo trend to continue.

WHAT IS A CONDOMINIUM?

A condominium is a form of ownership in which you own your unit as well as an interest in the common property and community facilities. Condo fees are charged to each owner for the upkeep of the common property and payment of other common expenses. Condos can be any size or style, including apartments, townhouses and even single family homes.

WHO'S BUYING CONDOS?

The list of condo owners includes all kinds of people—single and married, young and elderly, with and without children, suburbanites and city dwellers.

The children of the post-war baby boom, now in their 20s and 30s, are already house hunting in force, or will be soon. With higher house prices and fewer rental units available, many of these people will be looking at condos.

COST AND RESALE VALUE

In 1979, the average price of a condo was about \$57,000, compared with about \$65,000 for a new single family home. And the resale value of condos has been increasing almost as quickly as the resale value of houses.

FINANCING A CONDO

Financing a condo is like financing a house in most respects. Whether you qualify for a mortgage depends on many factors: your income, your credit history and the prevailing interest rates.

You may have to shop around a little more for condo financing, because not every lender will be interested in making a loan in the condo community where you want to buy. The lender is, in a sense, investing in the whole condominium, not just in your unit, so he must research and evaluate the entire project. It may not be worth the time and expense for only one loan.

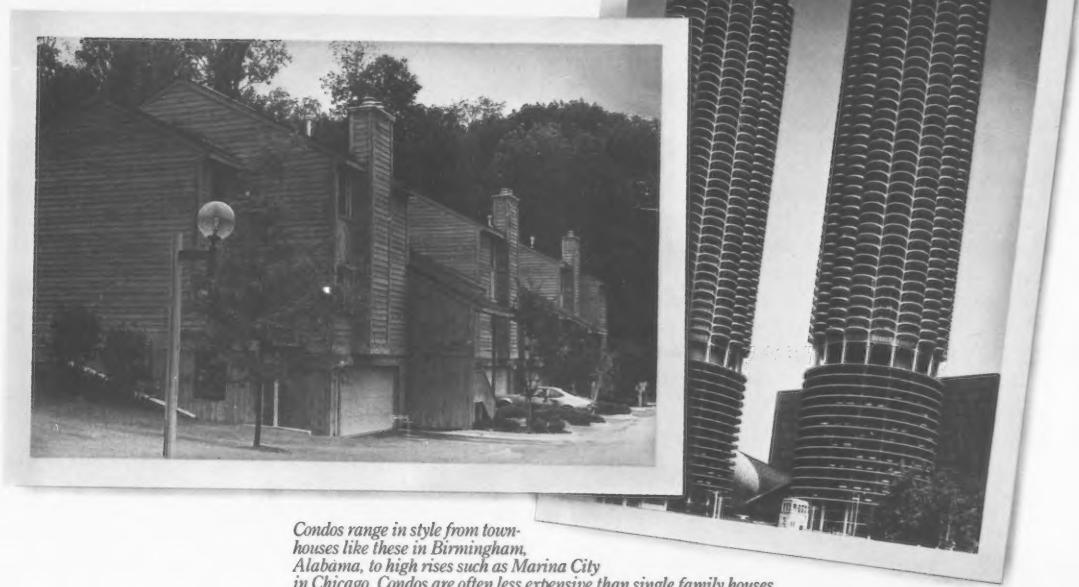
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ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

Before you buy into a condo, weigh the advantages and disadvantages. Owning a condo unit entitles you to all the tax benefits of homeownership: your mortgage interest payments and property tax can be deducted from your taxable income. And you're relieved of many responsibilities: the condo's management company usually maintains the exterior of the building and grounds.

But remember, condos aren't for everyone. Despite individual ownership of the units, you're only one of many voting members in the condo community. The majority rules on such matters as whether pets are allowed and what alterations you can make. You have to be prepared for the compromises that go along with condominium living.



Condos range in style from town-houses like these in Birmingham, Alabama, to high rises such as Marina City in Chicago. Condos are often less expensive than single family houses.

QUESTIONS WORTH ASKING

Condo ownership can be somewhat more complex than home ownership. So ask a lot of questions about how the condominium is managed, about the builder's reputation, about the quality and condition of the plumbing, electrical and heating systems. Make sure the condo's budget provides an adequate reserve fund for unexpected major expenses (a leaky roof, a bad furnace, etc.).

It is a good idea to have a knowledgeable attorney go over the key legal documents with you. You don't want to be surprised after you've signed on the dotted line.

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FANNIE MAE America's Mortgage Resource

**'Tens of thousands of commuters are
converging on Grand Central — tens of thousands
of potential Final purchasers'**

offices of *The Wall Street Final* in Manhattan's Soho district. Ripped from the machine, the copy is set into type, laid out in pages, and photographed — all within fifteen minutes. Negatives are handed to a messenger who sprints out the door, heading for the Expedi Printing office, two blocks to the north.

3:49 The messenger arrives at Expedi, hands the film to one of the printers, and returns to the office for more. Outside in the street, Harry, driver of a white Dodge Club Cab 100, part of the motley five-vehicle fleet that will rush the *Final* to the city's newsstands, waits, sweating. On Greene Street, nine delivery men wait, sweating.

4:03 Manny, Expedi's supervisor of drivers, darts out of the building to announce, dejectedly, "The presses aren't working."

4:15 Manny re-emerges, announces, triumphantly, "Printing!"

4:42 Manny wheels out the first five bundles of papers, 200 papers per bundle. With the help of a partner, Harry the driver starts tossing the heavy bundles into the back of his

Dodge Club Cab 100.

4:43 Harry and helper hop into cab, slam doors, burn rubber, heading for Grand Central Station, two miles north. Three minutes later, a gold Chevy Cheyenne burns rubber on its way south to Wall Street. Two minutes later, a green Dodge squeals off toward Penn Station. The first 2,000 of the day's 20,000 copies will soon be on the street.

4:49 Harry has gunned his way onto Park Avenue South, with a straight run ahead to Grand Central Station, already filling up with commuters bound for Westchester and Connecticut. Tens of thousands of commuters are converging on Grand Central — tens of thousands of potential *Final* purchasers. A light at 16th Street stops Harry in his tracks. The Pan Am Building, towering above Grand Central, is still twenty-six blocks away. The light changes — and all the way up the avenue, red changes to green. Harry makes it half way to his destination before green changes to red.

4:55 Harry arrives at Grand Central. The commuter rush is about to peak. Harry and

helper leap out of the cab and rush a bundle to a newsstand inside the terminal. The *Final*, with its headline REAGAN OFFERS FORD VP POST, shares space with the *New York Daily News* (FORD BLASTS CARTER AS FLOP) and the *New York Post* (FREED HOSTAGE HAS MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS). Sweating commuters rush by. Minutes pass. Fourteen people buy *Posts*, twelve buy *Daily News*, one buys *The Village Voice*, one *Variety*. Two packs of Camels, one pack of Trident.

5:16 A craggy-faced man carrying a travel bag and smoking a cigar approaches the newsstand. He glances at the *Final*. He picks it up. He buys it.

On Monday, July 21, the Post began publishing a late afternoon edition that included the final stock prices. On August 18, the day the New York Daily News launched an afternoon edition also containing closing prices, the Final suspended publication indefinitely.

Doug Hand

Doug Hand is a free-lance writer in New York.

Warning: This newspaper can be hazardous to your health

Shortly after the second issue of *Joint Effort* was distributed in February 1978 at Springbrook High School in Montgomery County, Maryland, Principal Thomas Marshall confiscated copies of it and banned its further distribution on school grounds. Student editors Mark Gutstein and Greg Williams challenged the principal's decision all the way to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond. Finally, on June 12, more than two years after the issue first appeared, the court ruled in favor of the principal in a decision which student press advocates fear may encourage censorship of high school publications.

Joint Effort was an underground publication containing student poetry, prose, and artwork, some of it satirizing the school administration, and some of it (as the paper's name suggests) dealing with marijuana. The paper also contained an advertisement, for a shop selling drug paraphernalia, that included a picture of a "bong," a device used by marijuana smokers. Claiming, among

other objections, that the ad would encourage drug use, Principal Marshall seized the paper under a school district rule which allows a principal to halt distribution of a publication if it "encourages actions which endanger the health and safety of students."

In court, the student editors argued that this "health and safety" rule was so vague that it could be used to suppress student speech protected under the First Amendment. The judges, however, held that the standard had to be broad if it was to cover the "infinite variety of materials" that might encourage unhealthy or unsafe actions.

Most previous decisions have found restraints on high school expression justified only if publications contained libelous or obscene material, or if they could reasonably be expected to cause "substantial disruption of school activities." That phrase was interpreted by the circuit court in New York in 1977 to include emotional disruption; the recent decision now seems to have further extended the grounds on which restraint of ex-

pression in schools is permissible.

Although the court indicated it would be less willing to restrain editorial content than advertising, the vagueness of the "health and safety" standard worries student press advocates. Mike Simpson, director of the Student Press Law Center in Washington, D.C., and legal counsel for *Joint Effort*'s editors, says the judges' failure to require specific guidelines will encourage principals to exercise more control over student newspapers.

And while the court's decision is binding only in the five states comprising the fourth circuit (Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and North and South Carolina), it could have an impact elsewhere as well. Professor Thomas Eveslage of St. Cloud State University in Minnesota, who is an expert on the law governing student expression, says administrators across the country are likely to pick up on the new ruling — and in the process may fail to heed the court's distinction between advertising and editorial content.

Andy Court

Protecting the Environment:

What the Chemical Industry Is Doing About It

Did you know that the chemical industry has already committed more than \$7 billion to protect the nation's environment and plans to spend another \$7 billion on this effort between 1981 and 1985?

Did you know that the chemical industry now employs more than 10,000 people whose sole job is to operate, maintain and monitor pollution-control equipment?

Did you know that the chemical industry, through its national association, was working on pollution-control matters long before most of the nation recognized the need to protect America's water, land and air?

Facts like these can contribute to reporting in this area. So the Chemical Manufacturers Association is offering the news media a new booklet, *Protecting the Environment: What We're Doing About It*. It's filled with facts, figures, examples and more about our continuing effort to protect the environment. To get a copy of the booklet, just mail the coupon below.

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- **Fixatives.** In some cases, chemical "fixatives" are used to immobilize or form barriers around solid wastes. This is one way to isolate and protect the surrounding environment from wastes that already have been deposited in landfills.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTES

Review editor

The July/August issue contained a brief announcement of the *Review's* new editor, Spencer Klaw. To introduce Mr. Klaw more fully, we repeat here much of what was said in our full announcement to the news media:

Mr. Klaw began his journalism career as president of *The Harvard Crimson* in 1940-41. He then worked for the *San Francisco Chronicle* and served as Washington correspondent for the *Raleigh News and Observer* and other southern newspapers. Subsequently he worked for United Press, covering the U.S. Senate and the United Nations.

Mr. Klaw later worked for the *New Yorker* as a Talk of the Town reporter, for the *New York Herald Tribune*, and as an associate editor of *Fortune*. In 1968-69 he taught journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, where he and a colleague conducted a local radio program, "The Press Watchers."

Since 1970 Mr. Klaw has taught magazine writing and supervised students in their master's projects at Columbia. He has written articles for *American Heritage*, *Esquire*, *Harper's*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *Fortune*, *The Reporter*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, and *Natural History*. He is the author of *The New Brahmins: Scientific Life in America* (Morrow, 1968) and *The Great American Medicine Show* (Viking-Penguin, 1975). He is currently working on a book about the nineteenth-century utopian community in Oneida, New York.

In World War II Mr. Klaw served in a U.S. Army liaison unit with French forces and was awarded the Croix de Guerre. He is married to the former Barbara Van Doren. They have four children.

This column should add that Mr. Klaw

will have the backing of the strongest staff in the *Review's* history, and we have high expectations for the future.

Looking ahead

By way of further introduction of the new editor, we asked Spencer Klaw to sum up his hopes and intentions for the *Review*. He responded:

"I have no plans for making over the *Review*. We would like to do even better what the *Review*, as it seems to me, has been doing very well. It is our job not just to inform but to be critical, even to the point of angering some of our readers. But I trust we can criticize without being unfair or arrogant or moralistic, and we will keep in mind that to criticize can mean to appreciate as well as deplore. We will try to remember, too, that a serious magazine need not be solemn, and we see no reason not to try to entertain our readers and even make them laugh.

"Change in the *Review* will come not from the carrying out of a set program, but from hundreds of specific decisions as to what should be written about, and whom we should ask to do the writing. These decisions will reflect our own sense of what is appropriate and significant — and interesting. But in our choice of what we cover we will, of course, be influenced by what we think our readers want. We hope they will not hesitate to speak out."

Digest milestone

Friends at the *Reader's Digest* have risen to defend it against this column's reference (July/August) to that magazine as having "never in our memory published a correction." They point out, somewhat triumphantly, that the *Digest*, in its July issue, has finally admitted to error, reviving an author whom it had previously called "the late Edwin Way

Teale." (The *Digest's* defenders failed to note that our statement went to press well before the *Digest's* July issue appeared.) We salute the *Digest* for this milestone, even if editorial homicide was necessary to achieve it.

Perhaps we speak feelingly because the *Review* in the last year has made more than its share of the kinds of mistakes we do not expect to recur. Anyway, now that the *Digest* has acknowledged fallibility, we hope it will join the rest of us in the ranks of the admittedly imperfect. It does the soul good.

'Lower case' book

As will be noted in the advertisement on page 65 of this issue, Doubleday & Company has just brought out a book culled from nineteen years of goofs recorded in the *Review's* department "The Lower case." We are proud of it, think our readers will enjoy it, and thank the hundreds of readers who feed in something like 300 submissions for each issue.

'Junk mail'

In quest of new subscribers, this magazine exchanges mailing lists with a few other magazines. It also, from time to time, rents lists from other publications and rents the *Review's* lists to others. We try to confine the rentals and exchange of our own lists to publications that we believe will be of genuine interest to many of our own readers. Our past experience has indicated that readers who like to receive mailings from such publications far outnumber those who consider them "junk mail."

However, for those who would prefer not to receive such mail, either through our list or the lists of others, there is a simple procedure to follow: Just fill out and mail in the form on page 73 of this issue.

E.W.B.

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CHARLES BRADLAUGH
1833 - 1891

Some people in Bradlaugh's day apparently believed he himself abused the free speech he believed in. Known as a radical and an atheist, he was prosecuted for alleged blasphemy and sedition. His prominence through much of the 19th century as a champion of individual liberty, however, also brought him the opportunity to serve in the House of Commons.

Although almost a century has passed since Bradlaugh died, his struggle for individual liberty and freedom of speech still goes on in many parts of the world. Here in the United States, these freedoms depend on our First Amendment — and on you in the

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COMMENT

One nation, still divisible

The riots in Miami in mid-May produced, as have similar disturbances, a crop of articles examining the state of America's blacks. IN BIG-CITY GHETTOS, LIFE IS OFTEN WORSE THAN IN THE '60S TUMULT declared a *Wall Street Journal* feature on May 23. *The (Philadelphia) Bulletin* began an eleven-part series on June 1 titled THE BLACKS: PROGRESS OR PROMISES? And, on July 30, a *New York Times* story proclaimed CITY'S POOR BLACKS SAY THAT THEIR HOPES OF THE 60'S HAVE WITHERED. Once again, blacks had made headlines for their violence.

Many of the articles dutifully invoked the 1968 Kerner Commission report on civil disorders, especially its dramatic finding that the nation was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white." Few of those articles, however, reminded readers of the commission's analysis of the press's performance in reporting on race. "The media have thus far failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and the underlying problems of race relations," the report stated, adding: "By and large, news organizations have failed to communicate to both their black and white audiences a sense of the problems America faces and the sources of potential solutions."

The press has been almost unanimous in its judgment that, since 1968, the position of blacks as a whole has improved while life in the inner city has, if anything, become even more dismal. And what judgment should be made with regard to the news media's own performance in reporting those changes? Certainly, the press, like most American institutions, has felt the impact of the civil rights movement. Many newspapers and broadcast stations have instituted affirmative action programs to bring minorities into the newsroom. Reporters are now assigned to cover the "black beat." Black faces appear on TV newscasts. And, perhaps most important, many editors have come to recognize that a problem does exist in relations between the press and the black community.

Yet, despite such gains, the news media, and especially newspapers, now seem to be under fire as never before from blacks, who perceive a constant double standard at work in news coverage. In Detroit, black ministers called for a boycott of *The Detroit News* in April to protest what they saw as inaccuracies and sensationalism in a series of articles alleging irregular practices by some black judges and lawyers (articles that were also criticized, for like reasons, by the *Detroit Free Press*). In Birmingham, a black lawyers association picketed the *News* and *Post-Herald* for their coverage of two blacks nominated for federal judgeships, who the pickets said had been treated much more harshly by

the papers than three white nominees (see "Birmingham Press Gets Tough — on Blacks," CJR July/August). Black organizations have registered similar protests against *The Atlanta Constitution* and the Memphis *Commercial-Appeal*, among others.

Nowhere has tension been greater, however, than in Miami, a racially troubled city whose dispirited black community is profoundly suspicious of the city's two dailies, the *Miami News* and *The Miami Herald*. As described in an article on page 15, even black reporters covering the violence there last May could not carry notepads for fear of being attacked by rioters. Emotions have run high against the *Herald* in particular as a result of its investigation of charges that Johnny Jones, Dade County's respected black school superintendent, had stolen \$9,000 worth of plumbing equipment from the school system. The local NAACP chapter criticized what it called "media attacks" and a "witch-hunting" investigation, and, on one afternoon, pickets marched in front of the *Herald* and *News* building carrying signs accusing the papers of racism.

The *Herald* would no doubt defend its stories on Jones as the type of good investigative reporting that any enterprising newspaper should undertake. It could point to the fact that, as a result of the series, Jones was brought to trial and ultimately convicted of grand theft. The paper could also call attention to an aggressive investigation into the death of black insurance man Arthur McDuffie. The *Herald's* probe into official reports that he died in a motorcycle accident indicated strongly that he had been beaten to death, and it led to the indictment of the four policemen whose subsequent acquittal by an all-white jury touched off the Miami riots.

That the *Herald*, one of the best newspapers in the South, has become a target of black hostility illustrates just how serious, and deep-seated, is the tension between the press and blacks. It is a relationship complicated by the fact that differences often develop over nuance and interpretation. What blacks mainly objected to in the *Herald's* investigation of Johnny Jones, for instance, was the prominent play the paper gave the story and the insistence with which it was told. On a more workaday level, blacks were upset, for example, by the *Herald's* recent publication of a large front-page photo depicting a policeman in the act of halting a purse-snatching by a black youth.

Such sensitivity is symptomatic of the deep dissatisfaction many blacks feel in the face of coverage that tends to be sporadic, superficial, and sensationalistic, seeming at times

Bill Frakes/The Miami Herald



Liberty City erupts: A black youth hurls a chunk of concrete at a Miami Herald photographer on May 17, hours after an all-white jury acquitted four policemen charged with the fatal beating of Arthur McDuffie

as if it were describing the inhabitants of a foreign country. And, in terms of quantity, coverage in the last decade has probably decreased from its level during the civil rights era, when protests commanded frequent press attention.

Certainly, in two important respects, the verdict of the Kerner commission is as relevant today as it was in 1968. The media "have not communicated to the majority of their audience — which is white — a sense of the degradation, misery, and hopelessness of living in the ghetto." And, again: "Far too often, the press acts and talks about Negroes as if Negroes do not read the newspapers or watch television, give birth, marry, die, and go to PTA meetings." As a result, the report concluded, the news media have "contributed to the black-white schism in this country."

Looking at America's newspapers, blacks see that minorities of all kinds constitute only about 4 percent of all journalists nationwide, although blacks alone make up 11 percent of the population. They are struck by the contrast between the scanty coverage accorded their own community and the gentrification of newspapers by the addition of special life-style sections. They see bureaus being opened up in the suburbs, following the path of the papers' primary audience, while the inner city continues to be neglected.

The papers themselves argue, often with justification, that if they don't set up suburban bureaus, or establish new life-style sections, they will, quite simply, go broke as their

traditional readership abandons them. But however necessary such innovations may be, they should not preclude more complete coverage of the inner city. Such an approach has recently been undertaken at the *Oakland Tribune*, for example, which, under the editorship of Robert Maynard, has expanded coverage of both the city of Oakland, now 45 percent black, and its suburbs.

More common, however, is the attitude shown by the publisher of *The (Paterson, New Jersey) News* in recently killing some of the hardest-hitting sections of a five-part series describing the dismal state of the city's minorities and the local government's role in perpetuating it. Such editorial practices merely confirm blacks' impressions that newspapers are reluctant to tell the truth about race in America.

This mistrust can have unfortunate side effects. As long as blacks expect editorial policy to be governed by a double standard, they will be tempted to interpret legitimate investigative reporting on black politicians and other community leaders as a manifestation of racism. The resulting protests could make even genuinely conscientious editors skittish about asking hard questions. Last November, for instance, *The Washington Monthly* accused *The Washington Post* of shelving its usual skepticism toward politicians when it ran an admiring series on a trip to Africa by black mayor Mar-

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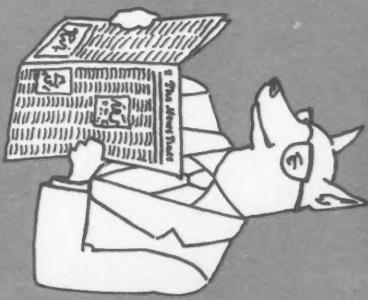
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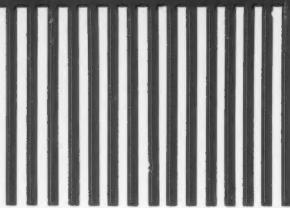
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**COLUMBIA
JOURNALISM
REVIEW**

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MARION, OH 43302



ion Barry; the magazine attributed this soft approach to the newspaper's desire to avoid the charges of racism which a critical look might provoke.

In this climate of suspicion, protest actions by America's blacks will undoubtedly continue. Some will come in the newsroom itself, as black reporters recognize that, in many cases, their numbers will increase only through legal actions brought to promote affirmative action. (The settlement of such a suit at *The New York Times*, expected soon, is being watched by black journalists throughout the country.) As for external protests, a relatively new phenomenon, these will probably become more common.

To some editors, picketing, denunciations, and boycott threats directed against papers appear simply as dangerous attempts to compromise journalistic standards and discourage aggressive reporting. But is this really what blacks have in mind? It seems more reasonable to view such actions as protests of last resort against news organizations that have the power to lessen the isolation of the ghetto but fail to use it. And if such protests can convince editors that the life and problems of the black community must be a continuing concern, then, far from compromising the press's integrity, they will have helped to broaden the concept of journalistic responsibility.

Carey McWilliams, editor

Carey McWilliams, author, crusader, and editor of The Nation from 1955 until his retirement in 1975, died on June 27 at the age of seventy-four. A memorial service was held at the New York Society for Ethical Culture, and among the speakers was The Nation's White House correspondent, Robert Sherrill. In his remarks, printed here in somewhat condensed form, Sherrill recalled what kind of an editor McWilliams had been, and how it had been to work for him.

In *Paradise Lost*, Lucifer explains that the reason he rebelled and got thrown out of heaven was that he just couldn't stand the burden of always being grateful. At *The Nation*, which never claimed to be heaven, we who wrote for Carey never had Lucifer's problem. Being grateful to Carey came naturally and easily and was part of the pleasure of working with him. There are many, many writers out there who will always remember with great fondness and gratitude Carey's help in exposing them to the fun and the excitement of raising hell in ways that *The Nation* is especially hospitable to.

There was an irony in our relationship in that, although

for fifteen years Carey was an uncommonly essential part of my life, I hardly knew what he looked like. During those years he helped me write scores of magazine articles and he was a close adviser on half a dozen books. I spent many hundreds of hours on the phone with him and exchanged hundreds of letters. But I saw him in the flesh during that period for a total of not more than four or five hours. There was no reason for this. It's only two hundred miles from New York to Washington; the air corridor between those two cities must be one of the busiest in the world and another train heads one way or the other every half hour. Nevertheless, in fifteen years he visited me only once and I visited him only four times.

Sometimes I felt like a fence rider on that giant Colorado ranch where Carey grew up. Every two or three years I would come in briefly to pick up more supplies. I think Carey enjoyed the cockeyed element of remoteness in our relationship. And so did I.

Because Carey was mainly a voice to me, I became, if nothing else, expert in interpreting his voice. And this was very important because I constantly needed his advice and he did not always give it in what he said. He sometimes gave it in the pitch and tone of his words; sometimes with a well-placed grunt; sometimes in eloquent silences. He liked to punctuate a conversation with the word "sure." It had many meanings, everything from total agreement with what I had just said to total dismay that I could be so absurd. I learned to listen very carefully. . . .

Much of Carey's strength came simply from his consistency. Emerson's bright saying has made us all a bit timid about speaking up for consistency. But if consistency is the hobgoblin of the little mind, it is also a very necessary ingredient of the large spirit. If you want to call Carey stubborn instead of consistent, that's all right with me. He was stubborn.

Let me illustrate. A few years ago Carey was badly mauled when he stepped into the elevator at the old *Nation* building and found that the elevator was occupied by three blacks who were not content to rob him but also wanted to beat him. And so they did. As I recall, brass knuckles were used. He was cut up pretty badly. Now most of us good white folks, if subjected to that kind of treatment, would have undergone at least a slight change of heart. We would have been like Lyndon Johnson. A week after Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Watts riots broke out. Johnson told Joe Califano that he considered the blacks to be "damned ingrates for spoiling all the progress I've made." There's at least a little bit of LBJ in most of us. But there wasn't even a trifle of that quality in stubborn Carey.

continued

He didn't believe the blacks owed him a thing. News stories about the beating uncorked the usual flood of hate mail, which he bundled up and sent to me, without comment. Most of the letter writers wished that the renowned nigger-lover had been killed. Obviously, Carey was enjoying — in a bruised fashion — the wryness of the occasion. But he had no other reaction that I could detect.

I think it is important to remember that Carey's stubborn insistence on practicing what he preached strongly appealed to many people you might not expect to be affected. He wasn't important just to leftwingers. He was important to rightwingers, broken wingers, no wingers, too. I know this from my own fairly restricted circle of acquaintances.

Among them is a German scholar in California who is a closet Nazi. He remembers the Third Reich with nostalgia. I would never have believed that he read *The Nation* or had anything but contempt for the people who put it out. But one day he said to me, "You know, the only thing I envy you for is that you know Carey McWilliams."

When you think about it, it really isn't strange that people like him looked to Carey. They, like most of the people in this room, are outsiders. Carey, the rebel radical idealist, was the spokesman for all outsiders.

But you always have to keep coming back to his consistency. I think one of the main reasons that even people who completely disagreed with Carey valued him so highly was that you always knew where he stood. He was a constant. Whenever you got lost in the ideological and political latitudes, you could take a bearing on Carey and find out where you were, or should be, or wanted to be. I did it — all the time. I'm sure it made me very lazy but I loved the luxury of always having Carey to check with.

News Council vs. *Review*

On page 81 of this issue the *Review* is taken harshly to task by the National News Council. The council's anger is directed at an article by the *Review*'s executive editor, Michael Massing, that appeared in the November/December 1979 issue under the title "Inside the Wires' Banana Republics." The council, responding to a complaint from Enrique Durand, former head of the United Press International's Latin American desk in New York, correctly points out that the article was flawed by two factual errors (one of them an error in translation). We regret those errors and apologize to Mr. Durand for any embarrassment they may have caused him.

The council levels other specific criticisms at the article with which we might disagree; for the most part we will leave it to our readers to weigh their validity. But we cannot accept, without protest, the council's dismissal of the piece as a whole as "overblown, overdone and exaggerated" — a phrase unblushingly appropriated by the council from a retired UPI executive. A detailed analysis of the ways in which the council appears to have overshot the mark has been sent to the council by the *Review*'s publisher, Edward

Barrett, and copies can be had on request. All we intend to do here is to point out two particularly disturbing aspects of the council's action — or overreaction — in this case.

To begin with, the council condemns Mr. Massing for failing to confront Mr. Durand with accusations made anonymously by people who worked for him. The council declares this to be "totally unacceptable." Yet while it is clearly in the interest of both fairness and accuracy that an accused person should be confronted by his accusers in the course of a journalistic investigation, the rule is not inviolable. In the present case, as the council's own staff noted, "There is some credence to Mr. Massing's position that by confronting Mr. Durand with off-the-record testimony the identity of the sources might be revealed, thus leaving them open to retaliatory action." Faced with the alternative of doing a possible injustice to Mr. Durand or exposing his subordinates to possible reprisals, our author chose to shield his critical sources. This is, in our view, clearly the sort of

Darts and laurels

Laurel: to *The Kentucky Post* and staff writers Gary Webb and Tom Scheffey, for a seventeen-part series, "The Coal Connection." Mining 3,800 documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act from the FBI, the Bureau of Prisons, the U.S. Parole Board, the Air Force, and the Securities and Exchange Commission, the reporters unearthed a seamy story of theft, tax scams, stock frauds, mob links, and murder in the coal industry of the 1970s — all of which may resurface in the upcoming coal boom.

Dart: to the 200 radio stations around the country that carry "Your Health," a series of interviews on medical topics with local physicians — and which often forget to mention that the features, produced as part of a p.r. campaign of the Burroughs Wellcome pharmaceutical company with the assistance of local medical societies, are conducted not by reporters but by company sales reps using questions prescribed by Burroughs. (And a laurel to Eric Mink, radio-television critic of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, for his May 30 examination of the stations' journalistic infirmity.)

Dart: to *The Tacoma (Washington) News Tribune*, for a June 9 editorial criticizing the state's Public Disclosure Commission for levying a \$250 fine against a local committee formed to insure a yes vote on a bond issue to build a new stadium; the fine was for failure to report any of its contributions and expenditures prior to the vote. The editorial did not bother to mention the paper's own participation on the committee as one of eight contributors of \$1,000 or more (or, for that matter, the paper's \$9,858 in revenues from the committee's ads). "The Minidome Committee was composed of public-spirited citizens intent upon doing something to benefit their community," the *News Tribune* concluded piously. "They should not be punished for performing a service to their city."

Laurel: to *Universe*, the CBS science mini-series, and

COMMENT

decision on which reasonable men may disagree. In proclaiming the inviolability of the rule it condemns the *Review* for breaking, the council betrays a blindness to the complexity of the ethical problems that reporters and editors have to cope with in real life — a blindness which, it occurs to us on reflection, may also at times have clouded the *Review's* vision.

The second point we want to make has to do with the net worth, as it were, of the *Review* article. The Third World countries have long been unhappy about the degree to which they are dependent for news on European- and U.S.-based news agencies, and the article served an important purpose in showing that people in one portion of the Third World, Latin America, have good reason to be dissatisfied with the news they get from the AP and UPI. The council has nothing to say about this, even though its staff provided it with evidence, beyond that contained in the article itself, that our executive editor's criticisms, at least insofar as they were di-

rected at UPI, were on target. Indeed, at the time that our author was researching his piece, UPI executives were making plans — since carried out — to remedy, by a reorganization of UPI's Latin American desk, some of the very deficiencies the article revealed. The council's staff proposed that the council include the following sentence in its findings: "It may be that the *Review's* article has served the useful purpose of speeding up the process [of reorganization] and that, in the over-all, [its] examination was, therefore, useful." The council chose not to accept the staff's suggestion.

All this is not to say that we reject out of hand the council's criticisms. They have occasioned much painful — and, we trust, beneficial — editorial introspection at the *Review*. But in its puzzling insistence on denying all merit to Mr. Massing's article, the council, it seems to us, commits the very crimes of exaggeration and overreaching that it lays at the door of the *Review*.

correspondent Diane Sawyer, for a July 12 segment on the mileage gap — a model demonstration of the difference between the miles-per-gallon numbers yielded under the utopian conditions of high-tech lab tests and the actual experience of everyday use. The program furnished convincing evidence that the tests, designed by the EPA and executed by automakers, mislead consumers and, ironically, backfire in the government's own miscalculations of the nation's energy needs.

Dart: to *The Wall Street Journal*, for failing to read its own news columns. On May 28 the paper ran a story exposing the speciousness of the "\$100 million sting" — i.e., what opponents of a tax-the-oil-companies proposition in California say that administration of the tax would cost. Two days later, editorializing against the tax, the *Journal* argued that "according to one estimate, enforcement of the tax would cost taxpayers and consumers \$100 million per year, and this figure could balloon. . . ."

Laurel: to *The New York Times* and reporters Martin Waldron and Diane Henry, for a four-part series (beginning June 15) disclosing financial links between Atlantic City's infant gambling industry and dozens of local officials, including the police chief, fire inspectors, members of the planning and zoning boards, and the city prosecutor. While such investments are not illegal, the report warned that the odds against corruption are very short indeed.

Dart: to KUHT-TV, the public television station operated by the University of Houston, for pouring water on troubled oil and washing out the controversial docudrama on Saudi Arabia, *Death of a Princess* — the only outlet in a major city not to broadcast the film and the panel discussion that followed. (*Laurel:* to *Houston Breakthrough*, the alternative monthly which, together with the local chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, arranged a screening for journalists at Rice University.)

Laurel: to the *Tulsa Tribune* and reporters Mary Har-

grove and Jim Gipson. The team plowed for three months through the complicated records of Oklahoma's \$571 million Farmers Home Administration loan program and harvested a bumper crop of abuses including bureaucratic waste, sloppy auditing procedures, and multimillion-dollar low-interest loans to corporations, banks, and millionaire ranchers. *Laurel:* to the *Chicago Sun-Times* and reporter Bruce Ingwersen, for a related six-part exposé of the politicization of the FHA by the Carter White House and the perversion of the agency's rural-development mission by the handing out of hundreds of millions of dollars in questionable loans and guarantees to appease influential congressmen and pay back political favors.

Laurel: to *The Flint (Michigan) Journal*. Posing as General Motors workers, the paper's undercover team exposed the all-too-common practice of improperly obtaining sick and accident benefits with the help of friendly medical practitioners who give work excuses for a fee. The eight-part series drew praise from union and company officials and an investigation by the state.

Dart: to *The New York Times*. The paper of record gave prominent play to a June 7 story on the Damascus conference of Al Fatah headlined P.L.O. SOFTENS STAND CHALLENGING ISRAEL — but five days earlier had curiously neglected to tell its readers of the conference's call "to liquidate the Zionist entity at the economic, political, military, educational, and ideological levels."

Dart: to WNET-TV, for somnolence. A full six hours after Reagan had announced his choice of a running mate, New York's public television station was rolling typescript bulletins telling viewers how Ford had been chosen and giving reactions of Betty Ford and leading Republicans.

Dart: to *The Sacramento Bee*, for headlining the story of a passerby struck by a dog tossed in a fit of anger from a window above: DOGGED BRAIN INJURIES FINALLY KILL WOMAN.

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**MCDONNELL
DOUGLAS** 



Reflections on the tube

A review — by a seasoned convention-goer — of what may have been the last of TV's political spectaculars

by NORA SAYRE

Chicago, 1968: when Dan Rather was wrestled to the floor of the convention hall by security officers and Mike Wallace was hustled away by officials, those of us who stood in the gassy streets applauded the bravery of the television crews at night — as their clumsy trucks lumbered after groups of demonstrators whom the police were savaging off camera, in the dark. Then, we thought of television as protection: exposure seemed essential to self-defense, and we trusted that viewers would know that Mayor Richard Daley had instructed his troops to riot. Yet some erroneously blamed television for the passions that erupted on those pavements, and a poll announced that 71.4 percent of Americans thought that the actions of the police were "justified." In 1972, coverage of the anti-Nixon protests was distinctly timid: some television critics deduced that the president's hostility toward the news media had inhibited the networks from recording the voices of dissent. Musing back on the relationship of television to the conventions and campaigns of the last twelve years, I'm haunted by the instrument's diversity: concealing as much as it divulges, it has been used for camouflage as often as it has exposed what public figures hoped to hide or bury.

Reliving one's recent experiences may be one of the few luxuries of the eighties, and a student of discrepancies has reason to bless a Betamax. After four days' saturation in the Republican convention, I watched NBC's coverage of the first day, CBS's of the second, ABC's of the third, and a blend of CBS and ABC for the final session. A viewer who succumbs to all three networks can ignore their mutual competition and ingest the medium per se, impressed at moments by its limitations, at others by its pungency.

Nora Sayre, author of Sixties Going on Seventies, has covered national conventions since 1968. This article was financed by the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund, and research assistance was provided by David Hershey-Webb and David Murdock.

The small screen did convey the pandemonium and the obsession with unity in Detroit. But television didn't really bring out a rondo theme that recurred throughout the convention: the necessity of war in the name of peace reverberated until much of the ritual resembled a weary war dance. Senator John Warner quoted George Washington: we should "be ready at all times for war," and General Alexander Haig said that "the post-Vietnam syndrome," which has hindered us from fighting, must be expunged. Barry Goldwater proclaimed that "If this country had been adequately armed back in the nineteen thirties, there never would have been a World War Two" — also, that if we'd had adequate leadership, the Vietnam War "wouldn't have lasted more than a few days," and no hostages would have been taken in Iran. The fragility of our "survival" — which the Republicans had stressed in 1976 because they dreaded Jimmy Carter's domestic policies — was featured this year in tandem with "Soviet duplicity." But the war games were not easily perceived on television — unless one was watching for them.

The paucity of black delegates — only 2.8 percent of the total number — was conspicuous on the floor but less so on the screen. As some black Detroiters remarked, the camera work suggested that there were more black citizens at the convention than was actually the case. On the first day, some who were seen on the screen were Democrats — visiting friends of Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young — and later the cameras kept showing some of the same black faces, in the manner of the famously repeated footage of the extraterrestrials in *The Invaders From Mars*.

That presumably innocent deception was minor in contrast to the distorted television coverage of the McGovern convention of 1972. Although those of us who were there were most acutely aware of the professional politicians and the Democratic establishment, the networks dramatized the presence of the black and female and very young delegates



— to the extent that some spectators believed that "the hippies" had captured the Democratic party, and many Americans felt that they had no representation on that floor. And, although most of the commentators were quite cordial to the candidate, the cameras in Miami Beach which kept returning to the tents and cook-outs of Flamingo Park — where many youthful bodies cavorted without relevance to politics — gave the impression that the pot-smoking campers were the same persons as those who lobbied for issues like abortion within the convention hall, and the impact on mid-America was disastrous.

Frustration and loss, "demoralization" and "failure": this summer, just when the Republicans should have been most joyful, their spokesmen could not relinquish the bitterness of their defeat in 1976, and the accumulative gloom of the speeches belied the billows of celebration on the floor. Goldwater announced that "This might be the last Republican convention"; Henry Kissinger harped on "paralysis" and "constant humiliation" and "impotence." Others referred to "agonies" and "values that died," and when Anne Armstrong said that "Ronald Reagan has seen something growing in our nation," the whole evening had been so despondent that one immediately thought of a tumor. Clearly, most hoped to deflect attention from the rejection of the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion by concentrating on the transgressions of the Carter administration, especially in the area of economics and foreign affairs. But vitality paled as the enumeration of the president's sins ap-

peared to exhaust the speakers, and, as they deplored "the Democrat Congress" of the last twenty-six years, they made their own party sound terribly helpless. In short, the style of the Republican luminaries doesn't vary — whether they scent victory or defeat.

The networks did not convey the melancholia of the orators, which could have emerged only if the minor as well as the major speeches had been televised, and no viewing audience would have tolerated that. The welcome breaks for commentary diluted the towering pessimism from the podium, while the cameras capitalized on the euphoria of the delegates, who remained cheerful because they rarely heeded the speeches, and because they had attended a galaxy of parties: there had been stuffed mushrooms for Congressman Jack Kemp, crab cakes for the Reagans, and flaming sausages among the Young Americans for Freedom. Never, among the last six political conventions, had I seen such a chasm between the speakers and the delegates — only Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan commanded full attention. Otherwise, the crowd howled happily at moments, but the blare of conversation was just as persistent throughout Goldwater's pronouncements as when Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP addressed the convention. One month later, the Democrats proved equally indifferent to almost all of their speakers, and the cameras at both conventions showed people reading newspapers and yawning and talking: although television pursued arresting imagery, it had to settle for metaphors for imperviousness.

STAN MACK'S REAL LIFE CONVENTION

GUARANTEE: ALL DIALOGUE REPORTED VERBATIM



Despite the party bosses of the past, the role of every delegate used to have some significance — within the caucuses, or when the candidates vied for their support. But in Detroit, their power was nil, since Reagan's aides were totally in control of the platform, and the delegates functioned merely as an audience. Today, since the role of the convention itself has been vastly diminished by the waxing number of primaries, the gathering isn't a forum for discussion — as it once was. The carefully suppressed belch that results from accepting too many free Pepsi-Colas (which are always proffered at these events) seemed like an image for a convention whose participants were overdosed with rhetoric but not allowed to debate the issues. Normally, a convention is exhilarating, due to the variety of the delegates' convictions. But in Detroit the Republicans cleaved so tightly to the party line — the right wing claimed that it was content with George Bush as vice president, the moderates denied that the quashing of the ERA was troublesome — that their responses were quite flavorless, and, therefore, so were the innumerable television interviews with delegates.

At a convention where the media had less to analyze than usual, the overcoverage was awesome: 15,000 news persons as compared to 1,994 delegates. Because robust stories were sparse, it was news when Ford dropped his solid gold trophy or when Nancy Reagan tripped and fell. But since the networks had time to burn, it was puzzling that they did not produce a major program on Detroit itself. The GOP's selection of that city was the most political choice of a convention site in many years; by convening in a black and Democratic metropolis, where poverty is flagrant, the Republicans were courting the union vote, the black vote, and the liberal vote in a way that was unimaginable in 1976 — when their platform identified the poor as "the voluntarily unemployed." But apart from cursory glimpses of jobless auto workers, whose utterances were apt to be cut off by a bulletin from the floor, television reinforced the illusion that the convention was taking place within a bell jar that was isolated from the city and the rest of the country, even the world.

Flaccid interviews with the Reagan offspring or officials' wives also devoured time that might have been allotted to several matters that I didn't see on television. For example, four delegates held a press conference — in conjunction with the Campaign for Safe Energy — to criticize the GOP's resounding support for nuclear power. Congressman Hamilton Fish was quoted by a spokesman on the "serious and unresolved safety problems, cost overruns, ineffective federal regulation, and poor operator training" pertaining to our nuclear plants. While the dissenting delegates did not aver that all plants should be shut down, they estimated that 10 percent of the other delegates opposed the nuclear program — a point not heard on the air. The networks could have further educated the public if they had explained the decline of party machinery and the development of the primary system: the mosaic needed a frame.

Stan Mack is a roving cartoonist whose work appears regularly in The Village Voice and other major publications.

THAT CONNECTICUT DELEGATION'S NOT TALKING. I WAS DOWN ON MY KNEES IN FRONT OF MABEL TRYING TO GET A STORY, BUT SHE WASN'T SAYING ANYTHING. FINALLY I SAID, DAMMIT, MABEL, SAY SOMETHING OUTRAGEOUS! BUT SHE WOULDN'T. SHE SAYS, I'VE GOT IT AND YOU'RE NOT GETTING IT. SHE KNOWS WE NEED IT, TOO.



Prior to Detroit, we had been promised that this convention would be uniquely styled for television and that dazzling entertainment was the goal. But the Republicans forgot their own scenario; many speakers wheezed away with no regard for the schedule, and none were afraid to repeat themselves or one another. Otherwise, there were labored little cameo appearances, which included Ginger Rogers in a silver manqué gown, telling us that "it's time to *dust* off our enthusiasm," and Buddy Ebsen declaring that "life is a brand new ball game!" There was canned laughter for the comics. Ms. Rogers's references to dust evoked the nostalgia that permeated the entire convention — the quotes from Dwight Eisenhower, the return to an America of church spires and war heroes and homebaked verities — and one was grateful for John Wayne's sake that he was now beyond the call of participation.

Granted the networks' omissions and the dismal package that the Republicans offered them, they did provide much that was valuable — especially when the commentators related this convention to those of the past. The most compelling recollection was John Chancellor's: he described an elderly black man "weeping uncontrollably" right after a floor demonstration at the 1964 Goldwater convention. Queried by reporters, the man kept repeating, "All my life . . ." Finally, he was able to complete the sentence: "All my life I have been a Republican." He continued, "And look what they did to me." His listeners saw that his suit — obviously his best — was riddled with burns: the delegates had extinguished their cigarettes all over him. Chancellor

added that such an occurrence "would be inconceivable" in Detroit in 1980.

Among the commentators, Walter Cronkite still has the best historical perspective — as when he reminisced about Reagan's staff imposing a "morality in foreign policy" clause on the platform of 1976, in fierce repudiation of Kissinger's policy of detente. (It was stimulating to remember that the '76 convention belonged to Reagan, not Ford, and that the Californian's "psychological victory" was overwhelming; the parallels to Edward Kennedy's extraordinary alchemy were subsequently noted at the Democratic convention.) Throughout, the commentators were wise to remind us that many of the Republican delegates had been waiting for Reagan's apotheosis and the triumph of conservatism for sixteen years. (There's surely no equivalent for Democrats within the last three decades — luster, not ideology, fueled the excitement surrounding John Kennedy.) While conventions may not tell us very much about the immediate future, they do unearth fixations from the past, and this one was informative about the aspirations of those Americans whose festering resentments evolved into an ability to organize their aversions.

While some Republicans disowned parts of the platform and insisted that the candidate was "not insensitive" to the rights of women, it was useful to see an interview with him that NBC had taped before the convention, in which he said that the ERA could lead to "women losing discriminations that favor them — and which are proper." He volunteered that "Women are the progenitors, the mothers of our [pause] people . . . and I wouldn't want to see those things lost." Despite Reagan's elusiveness on many subjects, no one who heard that statement could remain in doubt about his attitude toward equality, or the hoopskirt.

Bemused as we were on the floor during all the gagle about the vice presidency, I think that the networks handled it intelligently; what Reagan rebuked as "gossip" was not the fault of the news media, since Ford had exhibited an athletic appetite for the role when he was interviewed by Cronkite and then by Barbara Walters. After all, the job was offered to him — a fact that was publicized by Ford and Reagan aides alike; some of Ford's staff even told television reporters that his acceptance was definite. Although the networks had been manipulated — Cronkite in particular was criticized for unleashing Ford's campaign — they recovered swiftly: the fears of the ultra-right that Ford was a marsupial, whose pouch contained Kissinger, were deftly dissected by the commentators, who were also prompt to identify Bush as a conservative, not a moderate. Still, Jeff Greenfield of CBS was the only one whom I heard recalling Bush's midwinter assertion that a nuclear war would be "winnable."

Pundits like Theodore White on NBC were nicely attuned to the GOP code words: one quickly learned that "neighborhood" meant resistance to busing, and "responsibility" meant conservatism. I also noticed that "anathema" meant Kissinger, and that "hostage" was painfully timely: early on, some pro-ERA delegates wished to "hold their support of Reagan hostage" to a more



moderate position, and Congressman Jack Kemp said that "world peace should not be held hostage by our economic and military weakness." Naturally, the use of "hostage" was a reproach to Carter for failing to rescue any. (At the Democratic convention, Chancellor observed on Thursday evening that until then the hostages had not been mentioned by any major speaker; an hour or so later the president said that he thinks of them as his "own sons and daughters.") Meanwhile, both politicians and commentators were beguiled by thrown bones: the Republicans believe that the Soviets will "throw Carter a bone" in hopes of his re-election, and invisible bones were hurled to and by Ford all over the networks. At least we heard nothing about skeletons, which have been dormant since Thomas Eagleton did not become a vice presidential candidate.

Television did not indicate what species of president Ronald Reagan might be — but then, neither does he. His acceptance speech seemed much livelier to some who saw it televised than it did to many of us who listened to it in the hall. But the screen does disclose the relentless blandness that enables him to remain evasive, and the coverage of the convention did illuminate the inscape of his most conservative followers. As Jeff Greenfield said, Goldwater used to represent "the angry people" who were infuriated by welfare, by black families renting houses in their vicinity; they were repelled by numerous civil liberties issues, and their campaigns had a "tone of book burning." Ardent haters, they thought of opponents as enemies. Now, due to Reagan's affability and the instructions to be polite — the floor operators told them not to heckle Kissinger, and they didn't — their crusade seems less rabid, for the moment.

Having witnessed some of their rage in the last fifteen years — at a John Birch convention in Boston, at rallies for George Wallace in 1968, when Wallace's mere presence

seemed to bring out violence in others, and when Ford vanquished Reagan in '76 (then, they so thoroughly disrupted the convention that Robert Dole ruptured a blood vessel in his eye while shouting for silence) — I appreciated Bill Moyers's observation on CBS that Reagan's "genial personality" is crucial to this campaign. As Martin Nolan observed on ABC, controlling "zealotry" may be a "test of leadership," and the Reaganites' substitution of restraint for rancor may have reassured some who would never vote for Reagan but know that they may have to live with him.

Until this year, a convention was a temporary community, where lifelong intimates and wary strangers, politicians and delegates and reporters, were all woven together for a few days. Whether they liked it or not, they shared experiences from tedium to tear gas, mutual revulsions or affinities. Usually, a convention distills the current preoccupations of at least a part of this country. But if the networks largely succeeded in conveying the mood of the Republicans, they faltered in New York — in part, because they dominated the proceedings: the media created the atmosphere and also destroyed the communal aspects of the occasion. There were also complaints that the cameramen and floor reporters who clogged the aisles helped to retard the voting, by interrupting discussions and impeding the delegates' access to one another. Hence the tableau was more of a media conference than a convocation of political persons.

The spirit of a convention often resides in the caucuses, which can't be properly filmed. In August, anger and the

contempt for Jimmy Carter that gave the convention much of its character seethed steadily through the caucuses, where there were recurrent references to swallowed bile; a feminist had said that "in order to swallow our bile and support him, we have to believe that he will deliver," and that phrase flashed from one caucus to another, while the president was called a dog or a pig or a hypocrite, not by the young but by members of his own generation.

While the networks focused on the animosities between the Kennedy and Carter forces, they didn't really explore the fact that various groups which had warmly backed Carter in 1976 had been deeply alienated by the miscarriage of his alleged commitments, and many doubted that he had any incentive to change. Apart from Congressman Ronald Dellums' speech, a brief appearance by Julian Bond, and some questioning of Jesse Jackson, nothing I saw in thirteen hours of television expressed the concerns that have intensified among black Democrats. There were allusions to the South Bronx, where a counterconvention built on broken promises occurred, but that gathering seemed light years away from the politicians at Madison Square Garden who vowed to create jobs for those who live below the poverty line. Nor did I see coverage of the Democrats for Life, who feel that the Democratic party "has abandoned its traditional protection of the weak" by endorsing abortion, and that the platform "calls for violence and death." One of them said that they were dedicated to "civil rights for unborn Americans" who are condemned due to "their place of residence: for living in the womb."

The floor was a passion pit during the debate on "repro-



ductive freedom." Within the Michigan delegation, I listened to a woman who has twelve children eloquently explaining to a recalcitrant man that federal funding for abortions was essential to those who could never feed a family like hers; she was joined by a middle-aged housewife who said that she had been able to afford her own abortion, but that she had "a moral obligation" to speak for those who couldn't, and that the issue was equality for the poor with the rich. But that kind of dialogue was absent from the air, and the commentators I watched were quite dense about women's issues: they did not understand that Carter's flabbiness about the passage of the ERA has driven many women to sterner positions, or that feminism transcends party labels — just as blackness does. Nor did they appear to know that while feminists were in agreement about the abortion plank, some were divided about the strategy of withholding funds for candidates who don't embrace the ERA.

Since the debates on the ERA and abortion were timed for midafternoon, they received scant attention from the networks. It was often said on the air that rival forces wished to prevent certain procedures and topics from appearing on prime time, and the attempt suggested a mild form of censorship. The rules fight was scheduled for late afternoon; Carter's staff did not want that struggle to appear during the evening, but Kennedy's aides did — hence they were anxious to delay it. Sometimes it seemed as though two conventions were in progress: one that was exhaustively televised and one that wasn't.

While the networks were right to eschew hours of mediocre speeches, they should have encapsulated more of the substance. Amid the extended castigation of Reagan, it was striking that Carter was not often mentioned on the first night, when unconfident voices kept wistfully extolling their party, but not the president — the lack of conviction was notable, even between the gusts of windy optimism. The tone of the convention progressed from defensive reassurances (that Democrats "do care" — about everyone) to the titanic emotional flare-up for Kennedy to the queasy courtesies that couldn't qualify as a coalition. Meanwhile, in the Garden, it was clear that most of the speakers knew that

many Americans simply do not believe that Carter will function effectively in their interests — whether they are liberal or conservative, threadbare or comfortable, black or female. Indeed, the lavish promises to the poor were disbelieved by both admirers and detractors of the New Deal, so there was small peril in raised expectations.

The level of the television reporting was low — due to the weaknesses of the medium, not the individual journalists. Little stand-up interviews about "how they're feeling" in Texas or Pennsylvania were almost pointless, and the gavel-to-gavel coverage of the conventions harbors none of the virtues of the choicest cinema vérité, where the camera runs at length but the film is eventually edited. In this realm, television cannot convey "reality," since the reporters are soliciting what the cameras will record. The resulting pastiche can't even rate as documentary, since much of the narrative hinges on speculation: when will Kennedy arrive? Or: will the black delegates walk out? As Sam Donaldson noted on ABC, fifty reporters were geared up for Kennedy's entrance, waiting "to catch some breathless words, such as 'How are you?'" Yet the analyses by the teams of reporters on the last night were astute, proving that their considerable talents had been wasted by the format designed for the productions.

The commentators sank below their customary standards after Kennedy's speech and also Carter's, since they mainly reacted to both in terms of style, and bypassed the substance. Still, at other moments, there was much that could be relished. The ironies of David Brinkley and John Chancellor dispelled the miasma of sentimentality that politicians bring to these occasions, and both men have grown more sardonic over the years; I've always savored Brinkley's imagery — as when he evoked the Kennedy candidacy as "Wagnerian melodrama, with clouds and lightning flashes around the mountain peaks," and his partner has had my allegiance ever since he was ejected from the Goldwater convention, where he was led out of San Francisco's Cow Palace intoning into his microphone, "This is John Chancellor, somewhere in custody." And the benign acerbity of ABC's Ted Koppel ventilates the mustiness of much con-



ventional wisdom. During the battle for the open convention, it was helpful to be reminded that George McGovern — who spoke against the binding of delegates — had contested such a tactic in 1972, when the delegates in question were his own.

Dan Rather and the CBS team of Bill Moyers, Jeff Greenfield, and James Kilpatrick were particularly shrewd about defense and foreign affairs. Rather emphasized that Carter had promised to trim the military budget in 1976, and that his current pledge to spend generously on defense is "perhaps the most radical change in [his] policy since he became president." Greenfield most reasonably said that he was bewildered by the foreign policy platform, which attacked the Nixon and Ford administrations for reducing defense spending, but also assailed Reagan as a hawk; Greenfield added, "It's what Winston Churchill said about the pudding: it has no theme."

When Moyers stressed that the Democrats had reaffirmed their support for SALT II, Kilpatrick targeted the platform's extreme vagueness on that subject, and demonstrated that the Republican and Democratic postures on defense are much the same. (Among the conservative commentators, Kilpatrick's drastic frankness was a refreshing contrast to George Will's pedantic primness.) The fact that both parties yearn for military superiority over the Soviets required the commentators to be precise about confusion — which is probably the best way to serve the public this year. As I. F. Stone wrote in *The Village Voice*, "How can one be for arms limitation via SALT and at the same time be for arms expansion to make possible the 'pinpointing' of limited nuclear first-strike targets?", and voters will be fortunate if the media can elucidate that dilemma more skillfully than the White House has until now.

Tears slipping from the lids of Kennedy delegates while the senator was speaking, Carter biting his lip when he was booed after he mentioned draft registration, Kennedy's wintery profile on the podium: television did excel at visual punctuation throughout the Democratic convention, while the zest for Kennedy and the tepidity toward Carter were almost as apparent on the screen as they were in Madison

Square Garden. In the age of the close-up, we're accustomed to staring into the eyes of candidates, as well as perusing the faces of those who don't know that they're being filmed from a distance, and the networks' selection of footage was consistently cunning. Also, one would never have known that about a hundred machinists walked out — because the gesture occurred in the dark, before Carter's entrance — unless one had learned of it on television.

When half of the balloons that were supposed to descend for Carter's nomination remained on the ceiling, the symbolism was irresistible: all of the commentators joked about the omen, the implications of incompetence. The final wrap-ups rode on the reflection that Carter's political engineering and chemistry hadn't really worked, and Tom Pettit of NBC said that "a lot of old ideas and hardly any new ones" would be left amidst the debris of the Garden. After the band was stilled, when some delegates lingered on the floor to chant farewells to Cronkite and others clustered around Rather to elicit his autograph, one was struck afresh by the possibility that we had seen the last of something — that a national institution might be fading out of existence. It seems improbable that the networks will again spend \$30 million to achieve such feeble ratings. Nielsen estimates that the three networks combined managed to attract only about half of the viewing audience, and selective coverage seems to be in order. And the conventions themselves may be almost obsolete, if their principal function is to appeal to television: days of speeches that are shunned by delegates and networks alike exude the aroma of futility.

H. L. Mencken felt that a national convention could be "a show so gaudy and hilarious, so melodramatic and obscene, so . . . preposterous that one lives a gorgeous year within an hour." Few who immersed themselves in the conventions of 1980 could echo that elation, and some who stayed faithfully at their sets said that the experience was rather demoralizing — that the networks' fragmentation of those spectacles seemed like a simile for a larger fragmentation: among Americans who now make minimal sense to one another.



Notes on a no-win campaign

Kennedy floundered. So did the press.
Why couldn't he campaign — and be — like everyone else?

by BLAIR CLARK

Was Senator Edward M. Kennedy's primary campaign "trashed" by the press? Was it "ambushed," or sandbagged? Was it the fault of the news media that Kennedy "failed" in the primaries and Carter, after all, prevailed?

Even before the results of the Iowa caucuses confirmed the polls' reading that Kennedy's campaign had "not gotten off the ground," Jack Newfield was writing in the December 31 *Village Voice*, under the headline AMBUSHED BY THE MEDIA, that Kennedy was "the victim of the media's mob psychology . . . being ganged up on, caricatured, and McGovernized." Six months later, in the June 21 *Nation*, Ronnie Dugger, publisher of *The Texas Observer*, wondered why the news media had joined in "the savaging of Edward Kennedy" in an article headlined "The Trashing of Kennedy."

The story of how the news media portrayed the rise and fall, and rise again, of Kennedy's campaign is, it seems to me, more complex than Newfield's and Dugger's formulation would allow. Far from being a story with clear-cut villains and a simple plot line, it was a confusing drama in which the protagonists — the candidate and the press — often seemed to be reading from different scripts. Yet if the press can plead innocent to the charge of trashing Kennedy, it cannot so easily explain away an uneven and awkward performance, inspired in part by Kennedy's own curious behavior as a candidate.

It began as a straight but fascinating story: a prominent political figure with a mythical heritage — and a two-to-one lead in the polls — challenges the unpopular president, of his own party, for the nomination. Even before — particularly before — Kennedy announced his candidacy on November 7, the race looked more like a walk, despite the legendary advantages of incumbency. "Lame-duck" Carter was, as the polls showed in the summer and early fall of 1979, a sitting duck. All Kennedy had to do was run against him. He was going to run — all of the knowledgeable "knew" that it was only a question of timing, of when Ed-

Blair Clark, whom the Review asked to record his impressions of how the press handled Senator Kennedy's primary-season run for the presidency, has been, among other things, a political reporter (he covered Kefauver's campaign for vice president in 1956), general manager and vice president of CBS News, campaign manager for Senator Eugene McCarthy in 1968, and editor of The Nation. He notes that this year he was a contributor to Kennedy's primary campaign. Some of the research for this article was done by Andy Court and Harry Goldhagen.

ward Kennedy would officially declare his willingness to assume his dynastic obligations and begin the stately march to the nomination.

The Washington Post played up the curtain-raiser to the drama in a September 8 by-lined story by two of its heavyweights, Robert G. Kaiser and David S. Broder. In a front-page article headed FAMILY BACKS KENNEDY RACE, they reported that the senator's mother and wife had given the signal (Kennedy had apparently overcome previously inhibiting domestic problems and assassination fears), and that word of this "elated his supporters in many states."

Six days later, an interview with Kennedy by Adam Clymer appeared on the front page of *The New York Times* under the headline KENNEDY SAYS THAT LEADERSHIP, NOT ECONOMIC POLICY, IS AT ISSUE. The headline summed up what would become the two major phases of the Kennedy campaign — the leadership strut at the start, the issues challenge that replaced it after the plunge in the opinion polls. Kennedy, Clymer wrote, "did not differ substantially with President Carter's economic policies"; "leadership" was needed "to make them work." The senator "scoffed" at the notion that "the Chappaquiddick incident" would figure importantly in the campaign; Senator Howard Baker was quoted as saying that the fatal 1969 auto accident on the island off Martha's Vineyard was not "a legitimate issue," adding that neither he nor "anyone else" working for his Republican candidacy would be allowed "to mention it."

In September 26, six weeks before Kennedy announced his candidacy, Art Pine of *The Washington Post* quoted then-Senator Edmund Muskie as saying at a breakfast meeting with reporters that Carter's fortunes were "dropping so rapidly now 'that he may not be able to recover.'" The news media were full of stories based on opinion polls demonstrating how easy it would be for the senior senator from Massachusetts to snatch his party's nomination from the unpopular incumbent. Some of the more experienced and wary political writers kept up their guard, reminding their readers that the strategic brilliance and tactical wiles of Carter, Jordan & Co. should not be underestimated. And they warned that, despite polls showing its long decline in salience in the public mind, Chappaquiddick would reappear as an insistent question once Kennedy officially declared his candidacy. Most writers were less circumspect.

Then, on November 4, along came Roger Mudd. Probably no broadcast since Nixon's "Checkers" speech in 1952 has had such an important effect on a candidacy (though

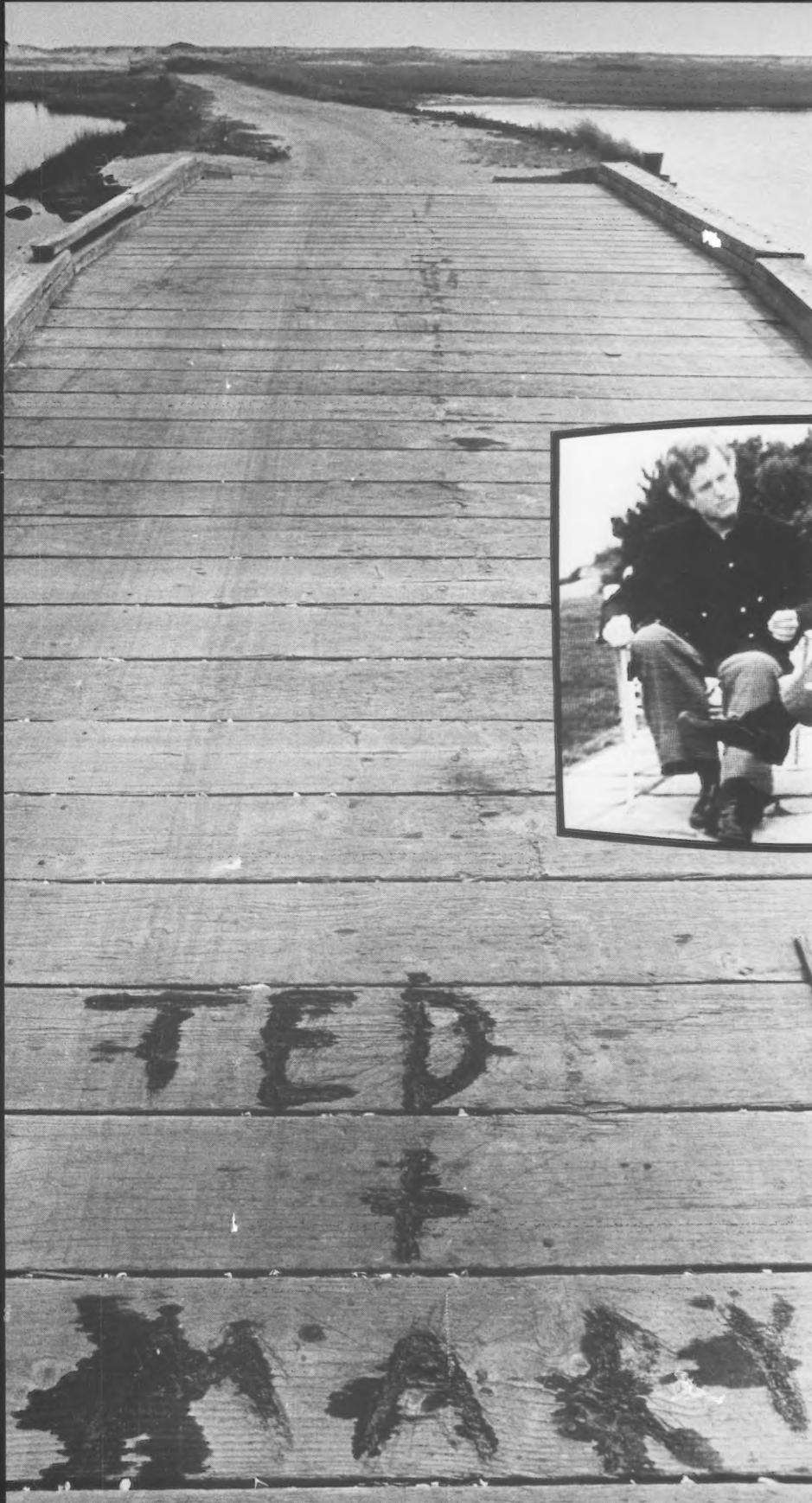
Probably no broadcast since Nixon's Checkers speech in 1952 has had such an important effect on a candidacy . . . as Mudd's interview with Kennedy



courtesy CBS

By stressing leadership, Kennedy gave the press an excuse to explore a subject reporters and editors had treated gingerly: the character issue. Inevitably, that led to Chappaquiddick

The Dyke Bridge, Chappaquiddick, and (above) Roger Mudd interviewing Senator Kennedy



with diametrically opposed results) as Mudd's interview with Kennedy on that *CBS Reports* program called "Teddy." Kennedy spoke haltingly about both his personal problems and his reasons for seeking the presidency. As Tom Shales summed it up in a November 22 *Washington Post* piece: ". . . he did not 'come off well,' it is commonly said; he appeared indecisive and inarticulate." More recently, in the June 28 *TV Guide*, Robert MacNeil, executive editor of *The MacNeil/Lehrer Report*, observed that many people regarded Kennedy's challenge to President Carter as "irresistible until the senator ran into Roger Mudd on television."

The Mudd show was not the first TV interview with Kennedy to reveal in him a certain incoherence: on November 1, ABC's *20/20* had run a Tom Jarriel interview with the candidate in which he also failed to exhibit "star quality." Oddly, in an age when even corporation executives have learned the fine art of fielding interviewers' questions, Kennedy, despite his seventeen years in the Senate, in increasingly important roles, was quite inexperienced in that art form. He had often refused invitations to be a guest on such Sunday interview shows as *Meet the Press*, *Face the Nation*, *Issues and Answers*, consenting to appear only about half a dozen times in the last ten years. And so it was a veteran politician but interview neophyte who sat down with family friend Roger Mudd in front of the cameras at Hyannisport in September and in his Washington office in October. As luck would have it, November 4, the day the show was aired, was also the day Iranian students seized the U.S. Embassy in Teheran, overnight turning Carter into a viable candidate for renomination in the rally-round-the-flag and don't-switch-horses tradition.

A standard criticism of Mudd's "Teddy" has been that it dwelt so heavily on the personal, as opposed to the issue, aspect of Senator Kennedy and his soon-to-be-declared candidacy. To this charge of "hatcheting," CBS News producers reply that what appeared on the air accurately reflected the proportions of what was said during the two separate hours of interviewing. Mudd himself says that he bore down on his subject to give him an opportunity to detail his views on the issues and to differentiate himself from Carter. But at the time of the interviews — and for at least two months after the program was aired — Kennedy was stressing "leadership" and not sharply differing with Carter on the issues. Thus, Mudd's effort to get him to open up on issues did not work, just as Kennedy's leadership strategy did not work.

That first week in November was a turning point — because of Iran, because of "Teddy" — in Kennedy's primary campaign. Before the Mudd interview, the national press corps in Washington had been eager for Edward of Camelot to challenge the Plains farmer — so eager that many elevated the senator prematurely to the presidential throne. "We did it. The press drafted Kennedy," Richard Reeves wrote in his syndicated column in October, adding that, "for better or worse, the press has more control than the politicians."

Ronald Reagan's manager at that time, John Sears, had

been widely quoted as saying that Kennedy would "peak" at the moment of his announcement — and the opinion polls soon certified that judgment. But if the press, by polls possessed, had previously overplayed the ease with which Kennedy would trounce Carter, shortly after his announcement it seemed transfixed by the swift decline of his political fortunes and the unexpected resurrection of Carter's. To add to his already abundant problems, by stressing "leadership" Kennedy gave the press an excuse to explore a subject reporters and editors had treated gingerly: the character issue. Inevitably, that led to Chappaquiddick.

Could Kennedy have handled this subject in a way that would have prevented its becoming a dominant question, especially in the early months of his campaign? The question is perhaps unanswerable, but I think it is fair to say that he stonewalled behind an appearance of openness. That is, he repeatedly said that there was nothing more to say about the Dyke Bridge accident and its aftermath, but was nevertheless made to go over and over that ground in great detail, each time floundering syntactically and sounding evasive. This approach was calamitous — painful to Kennedy and damaging to his campaign.

It was perhaps not surprising that, since Kennedy had indirectly raised the question of character and then bungled his replies to questions involving Chappaquiddick, such publications as *Reader's Digest* and Time Inc.'s *Washington Star* should publish new "exposés," focusing mainly on ocean tides on the day of the accident. What was surprising was that *The New York Times* should jump on the bandwagon. I have not found anyone willing to defend the Chappaquiddick "exposé" published in *The New York Times* of March 12 under the headline GAPS FOUND IN CHAPPAQUIDDICK PHONE DATA.

Critics of this ponderous piece — and they include writers of earlier Chappaquiddick exposés — all make one central point: Why, if there was anything to the Manchester, New Hampshire, *Union-Leader*'s story of August 13, 1969, that Kennedy had made seventeen phone calls before he told the police about the car in the water, and why, if it is sinister that the records of these calls had somehow strangely disappeared, did the *Times* wait for ten-and-a-half years to publish (and embroider) these revelations? The meander of these critics go on to note that the journalistic standards of William Loeb's paper are not universally admired; that, as the *Times* acknowledged, a source who "reportedly" saw the missing phone records was none other than Anthony T. Ulasewicz, the Nixon White House gumshoe who went to jail for failing to pay taxes on Watergate "hush money" for which he was supposed to be the conduit; and that this may be the only exposé in the history of American journalism which used nine column inches to list "Those Refusing Comment."

Derivative (and from what a source!), trivial, irrelevant, and tendentious, the *Times*'s "exposé" was, in my opinion, a parody of investigative reporting.

If Kennedy's "character" — which became equated with Chappaquiddick, women, and "the Joan Factor" — received excessive attention in the press during the first half of



UP

In Portland, Maine, Kennedy blasts Carter's handling of inflation and the energy crisis

Kennedy's sudden emphasis on issues was widely perceived as the desperate stratagem of a former shoo-in who had become, almost certainly, a loser.

his campaign, this was partly Kennedy's fault. After all, he had opened the way. The press, for its part, could cite, in dubious self-justification, this year's bit of conventional wisdom according to which "character" is all the voters care about in the primary season, not "issues." However, when, on December 2, Kennedy raised a very important issue, and made a valid point, the press landed on him with both feet. This was, of course, when he said that the shah of Iran had run "one of the most violent regimes in the history of mankind," and had stolen "umpteen billions of dollars from his country." The throwaway comment, made in a KRON-TV interview in San Francisco, was left on the cutting-room floor, from which it was rescued by a *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter. *Time*, which headed its story on the remark "Kennedy Makes a Goof," backed up its headline with quotes from *The Atlanta Constitution* ("a cynical campaign ploy"), *The Washington Post* ("It wasn't right, it wasn't responsible, and it wasn't smart"), and the *Houston Post*'s comment that it was inexcusable. Thus, the press rallied round the flag and the president who had draped himself in it. (In his December 31 *Village Voice* piece, Jack Newfield observed that the news media were "permitting Carter to milk the hostage situation for political profit" and that, while subjecting Kennedy "to the most intimate saturation scrutiny," they had suspended "all

skeptical and aggressive reporting on the Carter administration." These charges are, I think, substantial.)

When Kennedy's "leadership" approach seemed not to be working, there was the switch, generally reported as having occurred in his Georgetown University speech of January 28, to the more substantive phase of his campaign, which actually began a few weeks earlier in Iowa. But at Georgetown the break with Carter on the issues was sharply made as the senator came out for wage, price, profit, and interest controls and for gasoline rationing. (These positions were not new, but his emphasis on them was.) This presented the political writers with a problem. They had been dealing at length with the character issue in its moral aspect, so to speak. Now there was the question of sincerity and manipulation.

Kennedy's sudden emphasis on "issues" was widely perceived as the desperate stratagem of a former shoo-in who had become, almost certainly, a loser. And once the press had labeled Kennedy a loser, as it began to do with increasing boldness after the Iowa caucuses, much of the reporting on him was slanted that way — the loser must win the next one, the loser won't quit. It was more the decline of the campaign than the campaign itself that got covered. Was this, in part at least, because of the peculiar nature of the Kennedy effort?

A perceptive op-ed piece in *The Washington Post* of July 4 by Mark Shields, an experienced political manager turned journalist (and a good one), bore the headline THERE IS NO KENNEDY CAMPAIGN. Shields noted that Kennedy began with the unchallenged notion that "I'm better than the other guy, I can beat him." All he had to do, he thought, was to dash around the country speaking to people. As for campaign polling, that modern device for making waves without getting swamped, it was a late-comer to the world of Ted Kennedy. David Garth, master of pinpoint polling on issues and posture, found it "really shocking" that Kennedy's managers "didn't understand the modern use of polls." Sidney Blumenthal cites Garth on that lack in his book *The Permanent Campaign*, along with the more serious Garth charge: "They didn't understand media." At times, Kennedy even seemed to forget the existence of electronic amplification and "bellowed" his speeches, as some reporters noted, as if he were William Jennings Bryan addressing the rear ranks in a Kansas cornfield.

In the modern sense of a campaign as an apparatus calculated to win delegates through the actions and interactions of a group of professional manipulators, whose clashes and hierarchical shifts often make more "news" than what the candidate says or does, there never was a Kennedy campaign. Thus, reporters trained to take apart a campaign mechanism — Theodore H. White showed the way in his dissection of John F. Kennedy's 1960 effort — and report on which parts were squeaking, were frequently at a loss as to what to write about.

They could report his words, of course. But, as everyone knows, that isn't much done anymore. Or they could write about the "horse race," which editors can't seem to get enough of.

continued

No question about it, the men on the desk wanted a lot of "who's ahead" copy from the boys on the airborne bus. Most of them did not actively discourage other kinds of coverage, even including "substance," but the message the boys received via the "play" in their papers or on the air came through loud and clear. The word was: Tell us if he has a chance. Tell us why he's sinking/faltering/sagging/lagging/stumbling. And their answers to these questions found their way into the stories filed from the heartland, moving closer and closer to the top of the daily pyramid as lap after lap of the thirty-seven primary race was clocked.

The reporters who wrote those stories were relying mainly on hunches and published opinion polls to tell them whether the candidate was, in truth, faltering and lagging, and this did not make for accurate handicapping. Before each of the primaries, Dr. Lawrence Horowitz, staff director of the Kennedy health subcommittee and a regular on the plane, took a poll, asking press and staff to predict the outcome. Horowitz pledged secrecy about the results (after all, jobs might be at stake), but the press punters themselves admit that they did terribly as prognosticators.

On the eve of New York, for example, where Kennedy beat Carter by about three to two, only two members of the traveling press guessed right. And one of the two was Thomas Oliphant of Kennedy's hometown paper, *The Boston Globe*, who routinely predicted a Kennedy victory. Before the Wisconsin vote, the Horowitz poll was almost equally lopsided, with almost no one thinking Kennedy would lose, which he did by nearly two to one.

This, then, was another irony of the Kennedy effort: while the candidate was conducting a campaign so old-fashioned that it was almost beyond the ken of the traveling press, the reporters themselves — flying around the country at a very modern tempo, and more often up in the air than down with "the people" — hardly had a clue to the race they were out there reporting.

The Kennedy press corps — a dozen print reporters, about the same number of network correspondents and producers, and a score of TV crew members — was an impressionable pack, picked by executives who seem to have had a pack instinct of their own. At many papers, apparently, management's idea was to assign reporters too young ever to have felt "the Kennedy thing" — whatever that was. "Most of the people on the plane," reported T. R. Reid in the January 21 *Washington Post*, ". . . were in junior high or high school when John F. Kennedy was president; they were college students, soldiers or cub reporters in West Whistlestop when Robert Kennedy was a national political figure."

Was management's decision a sound one? I'm not sure it was. The result was that many of the reporters felt stymied. The editors had limited interest in objective accounts of what these young reporters were observing for the first time; they wanted something more sharply angled, judgmental but forced into the objective mode. They wanted to know whether Kennedy was failing or faltering, stumbling or mumbling, whether he would stand up to the pressure or quit.

So once again, the "character" theme emerged. Asked whether he was going to stay the course, Kennedy repeatedly assured the reporters on the plane that he was, that he was going to fight this thing all the way. They found that hard to report, it was so strange. The pols in a less old-fashioned campaign would have helped out the incredulous reporters by hinting at subtle strategies and clever plots to subvert the Carter majority at the convention through rules changes and the like. No such help was forthcoming. So the press resorted to "character" stories, this time favorable ones that hinted at a certain nobility in the face of defeat.

Two days away the time on the plane, Tom Oliphant and others had been putting on the nightly "Waldo McPhee" broadcast over the airplane's intercom. Generally good-natured, it was as much a spoof of broadcast journalism as it was a satirical fantasy about the day's political happenings. Kennedy, in the front of the plane with staff and family, had to hear it all. He took it with his usual good nature.

In May, the McPhee team spawned a new feature, "The Bozo Zone." (The name is an amalgam of the clown Bozo and the Rod Serling TV series *Twilight Zone*.) In a fake-ominous tone, Kennedy aide Greg Smith narrated, with reportorial help, the various disasters, real and surreal, overtaking Bozo (read Kennedy) and those associated with him.

On the Kennedy plane heading east from California after the June 3 "Superbowl" of eight state primaries — five of which Kennedy won, but which gave Carter enough pledged delegates for a first-ballot nomination, if the delegates stuck by him — the final production of "The Bozo Zone" was aired on the intercom. Some listeners recall it as, by turns, scathing and maudlin, but finally almost funereal in tone. Even as a winner, Kennedy was a loser.

The whole show was piped into the front of the plane, where Kennedy and his family sat. When the 727 landed in Washington, D.C., the back door through which the press normally debarked was not opened. The reporters filed out through the front, and they found out why. The senator, his wife, their children, other relatives, and the senator's aides were all lined up, waiting to thank the press individually and to say goodbye. "Great to have had you with us," said the butt of the Bozo jokes. It was hardly in the spirit of "You won't have me to kick around anymore."

From start to finish Kennedy was remarkably good-natured about the press. He has never criticized the institution in general or attacked individual members of it. If he was disappointed or angry at the way his candidacy had been treated, he did not let on. Unlike George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and other American political figures who hit back at journalists (Washington called them "infamous scribblers"), Senator Kennedy just took it. In his genial way perhaps he understood that seekers of the presidency have to put up with it, now that the press has uneasily assumed such a central role in the political process. He might even have compared his relations to the press to those of a couple locked in a strained but indissoluble marriage, with all the disagreements aired, the quarrels over, and nothing to do but get on with life. ■

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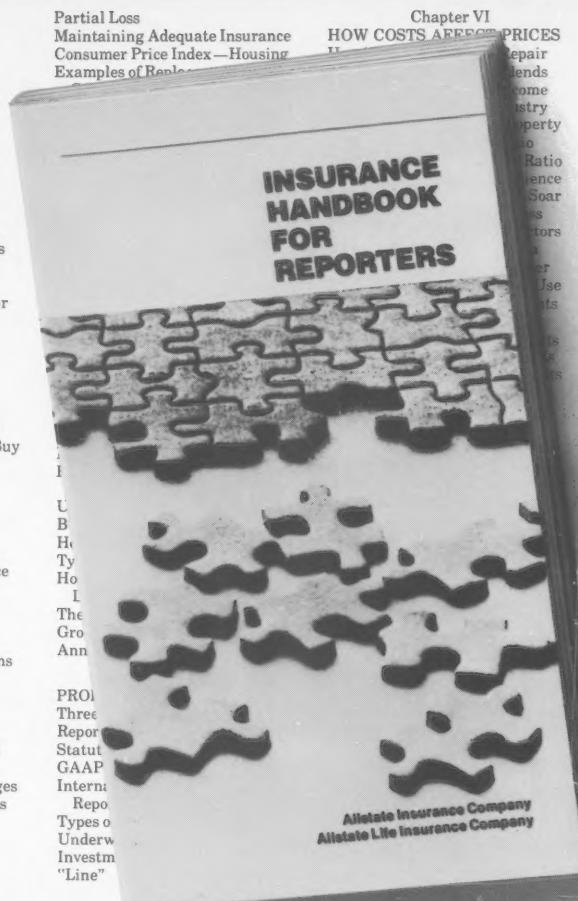
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The in-house effect

"Twenty years ago we could have run articles on anything from toy railroads to wild boars to American politics. Now every one of these subjects has a magazine of its own."

Harper's editor Lewis H. Lapham, quoted in the June 30 *Time* in an article on the death of the subsequently resurrected monthly

by ROY BLOUNT, JR.

We had just finished packaging *Knock and Twinge: the Magazine for People With Psychosomatic Car Trouble*, and Hepworth could have been forgiven a few moments, even a whole afternoon, of complacency. But that wasn't Hepworth. Hepworth was looking off into space. He was glaring off into space.

"It's out there," he was saying. "There's something else out there. I can feel it. I can almost read it. *Fever! the Newsletter for People Running More Than 101 Temperature* — no, too ephemeral. *Deep End, the Depressive's Companion*. No . . ."

"Hepworth! Let up!" I expostulated. "You have tested the very limits of the special-audience concept with *Illiterate Quarterly*. *Protective Coating Annual* is a hot book, as is *Chainsaw Times*. Not to mention *The Earthworm Breeder*, which thrives despite a slump in the earthworm industry itself. Why can't you take a week or so and just lay back . . ."

"*Layback, a Guide to Unobsessive Living*. Unh-uh, Doane, unh-uh."

"Hepworth!" I cried. "Listen to me just once as a friend."

"Feed me, Doane!" he snapped. "I don't employ you for personal counseling, I employ you for concepts. Military wives! What was that one you had for military wives?"

"Hepworth, I . . . was just jacking around with that one."

"What was it?"

Roy Blount, Jr., is the author of *Crackers: This Whole Many-Angled Thing of Jimmy, More Carters, Ominous Little Animals, Sad-Singing Women, My Daddy and Me, to be published by Knopf this fall.*

"All Turn Out — for Those Who're There When Johnny Comes Marching Ho . . ."

"So. 'Jacking around.' You were jacking . . . around. Doane . . . Wait a minute. *Jacking Around: the Magazine of Idle Raillery*. Now at last a regular publication for the man willing to risk his very career for a few easy laughs. Hm. It won't go."

Hepworth fell silent. He sifted distractingly through the *Knock and Twinge* dummy layouts. "Doane, we need something else. Readership does not stand still. No target audience is a sitting duck. Today the need for maximization of advertising efficiency is greater than ever. We want to produce magazines whose ads in the business section of the *Times* can state proudly, 'Continuous tracking of both anticipated and actual purchases has demonstrated that the *Blacktopper's Journal* reader, alone in the splendid isolation of his own consumer-mind, buys as planned.' There are widgets out there, Doane. And people who want to sell those widgets. And people who want to read about those widgets. Out there. And we have to put them together."

I knew. Something hit me. "Hepworth. Widgets?"

"It's a term, Doane, a figure of speech. I'm just . . ."

"I know, I know. But just a minute now. What are widgets?"

"Doane, that's not the point. I'm just . . . What are widgets?"

"Right back to you." I moved to the unabridged, flipped right to the w's, read: "A usu. small device, contrivance, or mechanical part (as a fitting or attachment) . . .; specif: a small cylindrical container for carrying messages . . . through pneumatic tubes."

It was a definition, at first glance anyway, that didn't exactly blow horns and whistles. But Hepworth seemed to be off in a pneumatic tube of his own.

"Well . . .," I said. "Widgetry, the Bible of Cylindrical . . . Actually, I don't think there's much upscale there, Hepworth. Hepworth?"

"'Usu.?' he mused.

"It's short for 'usually.' "



Kimble P. Mead

"I didn't think . . . anything was short for 'usually.' "

I had never seen him quite like this. "Well, just in dictionaries," I said.

"Dictionaries! Widgets!" Hepworth suddenly erupted. "Doane! You've got me sidetracking! Off-targeting! I don't have time to brainstorm about dictionaries and widgets! Nobody has that kind of time today! What people have is leisure time for focusing on how they're going to cope with spending their money. Quality time . . ."

I don't mind admitting it, I was chastened. My mind dug in. "Time. That's something . . ."

"Doane we can't call a magazine Time!"

"No. No. I know. I was just thinking, the whole digest field. How about *Digestive Juice, the Essences of the Month's Digest Magazines?*"

"No, Doane. That's too general-audience. What kind of subculture is that? People who want a diet of boiled-down digests."



"Well, people on shuttle flights."

"But what do people on shuttle flights want to buy?"

"A good short martini," I said, but we both knew I was spinning wheels. We had been through the whole alcohol thing before, getting nowhere with *Sloshed, the Magazine of Serious Drinking*. At the bar, it had seemed like a zinger. There'd be a guest column headed "The Drunkest I've Been," a regular feature written while blitzed, great drunks in history, hangover remedies, an AA column . . . Then we realized why nobody had done it before: nobody would run any liquor ads in it. So we changed it to *Mellow: the Magazine of a Recreational Pop or Two*, and boom, it went. However, the staff never seemed able to get it out on time. In the end, we had to let liquor flow back into the mainstream.

Past history; I couldn't dwell on that. Hepworth was aching to have something good bounce off him. I scanned the room. Drapes: no. Awards and citations:

no. My eyes came to rest on Hepworth himself.

"How about . . . you, Hepworth? What are you interested in? What would you want to read a magazine of?"

"Me?" His tone was gruff.

"Sure. Who better? What would make you respond to a mailer? What would you find yourself picking up on the stand?"

Hepworth all but smiled. "I . . .," he said. "Demographics. Magazine packaging. I would read . . . a magazine of magazine packaging."

Hepworth rose, walked to the window, looked out at the Newsweek building. "And what is more, I would write a one-sentence description of that magazine and sell forty points of it at five thousand dollars a point. I would pull together a year's worth of tables of contents (with by-lines), a logo, an art director, eight contributing editors, and a complete dummy including an emotional service

piece, a rate-the-packagers feature, a buzz-of-the-industry items column, a personality profile, and a letter from the publisher. And I would go to direct mail on that sonofagun and it would test out at ten, twelve, fifteen percent: phenomenal. And . . ."

"I've got a title for it!" I cried.

"I don't want to hear it," said Hepworth, each word bitten off. I was brought up short. "And I'm going to tell you why," he went on. "Because we would put that magazine out, Doane, and two hundred thousand people from coast to coast would read it and start packaging magazines. That's right. *Hundreds of thousands* of magazines, Doane: teeming, piling up, renewing, scattering blow-in subscription cards, feeding on one another. Have you ever heard, Doane, of the In-House Effect?"

I, of course, had. In a general way. An implosion, I supposed — or an explosion, or both — of the organs of communication. A chain reaction so pervasive, so metastatic, that no lane or avenue in America, business or residential, would be without a floating ad conference. And every chat, set-to, birthday, or tender moment along those lanes and avenues would be photographed, laid out, angled, and written up, in thumb-through-speed prose, quite specifically for all those people who wanted, and could afford, such products as might be germane to it; and all the staffs of all the publications involved would publish smaller inside publications for and about themselves. *There would be no Life magazine*, as we knew it or even as we know it, and yet also no form of non-magazine-related life.

"There is, to be sure, a magazine-packaging boom," I heard Hepworth saying. "But that is one boom that must not have its own magazine. Because there is something else, Doane — there may not be a boom in it, but it's called professional responsibility."

Hepworth, of course, was right. There are stories that cannot be written. Confidences that cannot be shared. Bombs that cannot be dropped. Markets that cannot be zeroed in on. I would go through fire for that man.



Sign your car and catch a car thief.

Last year Americans bought twenty million automobiles, and stole one million more.¹

Now *paying* for cars and car insurance is too hard to let *steal-*

ing cars be that easy. And some pretty primitive precautions—not to mention sophisticated laws that would make trafficking in stolen cars a Federal offense—can help.

The owner's name, scratched into the inside of the gas cap, was evidence needed to reunite a Texas man with his stolen pick-up truck.

A Detroit Cadillac owner helped police identify his stolen car by remembering *birdseed* spilled under the back seat. (The thief is now roosting in the federal coop.)

Your business card, dropped down window channels into doors or secreted in places only *you* will remember, will serve the same purpose.² And even simpler than "signing" your car is locking it.

In Boston, for example, where 1 out of every 35 cars was stolen in 1975, a "Lock-your-car" campaign run by the National Auto Theft Bureau helped cut theft 26% in two years.³

One last word of advice. Before you buy the expensive options that'll make your car *more* attractive to car thieves, buy the anti-theft device options that'll make it less attractive.⁴

Auto theft can be cut. Auto insurance costs can be controlled. Don't underestimate your own influence. Use it, as we are trying to use ours.

Aetna wants insurance to be affordable.

¹Auto theft is no longer a "cottage industry"; it's a huge racket that costs the American people \$2 billion a year.

²The National Auto Theft Bureau also suggests: using a vibrator pencil, etch the vehicle identification number in several

hard-to-find spots. Use your imagination: the more unique your hiding place, the more exasperating to a thief!

³About 20% of stolen cars are driven away with the keys the owner left in the ignition; in another 20%, keys are transpar-

ently "hidden" above the visor, in the glove compartment or under the driver's seat. Locking your car won't protect it from a professional thief, but it will protect it from the joy-riding teenagers who account for many thefts.

⁴These devices only slow

down a professional thief, but the more time it takes him, the more chance he'll be caught. Locking systems, cut-off switches and security alarms are all available at auto supply stores.

Richmond Newspapers: end of a zigzag trail?

A year after *DePasquale*, the Court reversed direction. The question now is how many doors the new decision will open

by BRUCE W. SANFORD

It was one of those bright moments when a youth punctures hours of adult contrivance with a simple question. Neither Jean Otto, president of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, nor the other tireless organizers of the First Amendment Congress, meeting last March in Williamsburg, Virginia, could have planned it better.

The congress had been convened initially in January at Philadelphia's historic First Bank building where, with the help of Dan Rather, Anthony Lewis, and other speakers, delegates celebrated the First Amendment and worried about the erosion of its protections at the hands of the U.S. Supreme Court. Two months later, delegates to a second meeting in colonial Williamsburg were charting a program for educating the public about First Amendment freedoms. After all, George Gallup, Jr., had told the Philadelphia assembly that 76 percent of polled Americans didn't even know what the First Amendment was.

A candlelight tour of Williamsburg's reconstructed capitol, with its colonial courtroom, concluded a long day of speeches and enough discussion to weary a founding father. Much of the talk denounced the Supreme Court's

baffling 5-4 decision in *Gannett Co., Inc. v. DePasquale* on July 2, 1979, which permitted the closing of pretrial proceedings to the press and public on the grounds of an accused's Sixth Amendment right to a fair — but not necessarily open — trial.

Seventy or so delegates crammed into the small courtroom to listen to a lavishly gowned guide describe how trials were conducted in eighteenth-century Virginia. Finished with her spiel, the guide sought the audience's questions. Silence. Then an abrupt hand from Allan Hoffman, a junior high school student from Upper Dublin, Pennsylvania. "Were the trials always open to the public?" Allan asked.

Amid the laughter, which perplexed her, the guide allowed as how, yes, she thought they always were.

The guide was right. History, as it turned out, is the foundation for the Supreme Court's self-proclaimed "watershed" decision in *Richmond Newspapers, Inc. v. Virginia*, which the Court handed down a year to the day after *DePasquale*. It is at once an unsurprising decision, given what the Williamsburg guide sensed — the presumption of openness inherent in Anglo-American justice — and the most surprising First Amendment decision of the past decade.

Most observers had been betting that if the Court decided to reverse the Virginia courts' closure of the fourth murder trial of John Paul Stevenson, it would do so only on the narrowest of grounds. Faced with the *DePasquale* majority of five justices who had ignored the entire question of the public's First Amendment right to attend pretrial proceedings, and worried about the Court's increasingly undisguised irritation with the fourth estate, media lawyers were understandably apprehensive.

But when the Court handed down its decision, it confounded everyone by the historic scope of its pronouncement. In crisp and emphatic language, a 7-1

majority held that: "Absent an overriding interest articulated in findings, the trial of a criminal case must be open to the public." At the same time, Chief Justice Burger startled his critics by articulating, for the first time, the broad contours of a First Amendment right of access to governmental information and proceedings.

"People in an open society do not demand infallibility from their institutions, but it is difficult for them to accept what they are prohibited from observing," the Chief Justice wrote. Along with a clear majority of the Court, he was recognizing, as never before, a right that the press had sought more assiduously than any other throughout the 1970s — constitutional protection for newsgathering.

The decision has for this reason been universally heralded as a "victory for the American people and only secondarily for the American press," in the words of J. Stewart Bryan III, publisher of Richmond Newspapers, Inc. "It's one of the two or three most important decisions in the whole history of the First Amendment," says *Miami Herald* lawyer Dan Paul.

Robert C. Bernius, the Rochester lawyer who argued *DePasquale* for Gannett, and lost, feels "vindicated" by *Richmond Newspapers*. He sees it as a "one-hundred-and-eighty-degree policy shift for the Court." Other news media lawyers think that's overstating matters a bit since the Chief Justice and Justices Stewart and Stevens justify their seeming change of position by breezily explaining that *DePasquale* dealt only with pretrial proceedings — not trials — and was decided on Sixth Amendment — not First Amendment — grounds. Nonetheless, there has been a shift, or at least a new willingness to address the First Amendment arguments about the public's right to view court proceedings — arguments which Bernius made in his *DePasquale* brief two years ago.

Bruce W. Sanford, a former reporter for The Wall Street Journal, practices communications law in Washington, D.C.

Whatever the reason for the Court's shift, the effect of *Richmond Newspapers* will almost certainly be to reduce the nationwide epidemic of courtroom closings. Footnotes in the various opinions place vague limitations on the sweep of the decision. Thus, Burger notes that "whether the public has a right to attend trials of civil cases is a question not raised by this case, but we note that historically both civil and criminal trials have been presumptively open."

But the "general perception of the case is more important than the footnotes," says CBS News correspondent Fred Graham, "and it will be perceived by lower courts as broadly discouraging the closing of courtrooms." Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti has drafted new Justice Department guidelines that may limit strictly the occasions when the government will seek closure in trials and pretrial proceedings.

Underestimating the bureaucratic reverence for secrecy may be naive, however; just one week after *Richmond Newspapers* was handed down, United Press International and several Utah news organizations had to challenge the U.S. Comptroller of the Currency and two of Utah's largest banks, which were attempting to exclude the public and press from large segments of a major antitrust trial in Salt Lake City. When pressed, the comptroller and the banks failed to show any compelling or overriding reason for excluding reporters, and the judge indicated that all aspects of the trial would be open except certain so-called sensitive and confidential records of bank examinations, which he may open up after inspection.

The most troublesome problems for the press will probably continue to erupt in pretrial proceedings, due to whatever life is left in *DePasquale*. Even though *DePasquale* is not overruled, "you can make an awfully strong argument that the same rigorous standards articulated for trials in *Richmond Newspapers* should also apply to pretrial proceedings," argues First Amendment lawyer Floyd Abrams. "We are probably back to where we were two years ago with open trials, and now and then a closed pretrial suppression hearing, when a criminal defendant can make a strong showing."

Essentially, news media lawyers will argue that the paramountcy of First Amendment considerations compels a judge to use all available alternative measures to closing a courtroom in pretrial proceedings as well as in trials. A mounting number of state court decisions, including those handed down by the highest courts in Pennsylvania, New York, West Virginia, Arkansas, and Oregon, have already accomplished this collaterally by making closure, as a practical matter, the very last resort. "The arguments are now First Amendment arguments and *DePasquale* is no longer the law," concludes *New York Times* lawyer James C. Goodale.

Besides keeping courtroom doors open, *Richmond Newspapers* will be a powerful tool in the hands of news media lawyers who wish to assert the right of access to other kinds of governmental proceedings, such as closed city council or school board meetings — and even to such governmental data as police blotter entries. "One will start with *Richmond Newspapers* in all future access cases," says Floyd Abrams.

The logic for applying the decision to nonjudicial matters comes from what Justice Brennan calls the "public access component" of the First Amendment. In his concurring opinion, Brennan sketches two principles to help determine when the right of access should be granted. "The case for a right of access has special force when drawn from an enduring and vital tradition of public entree to particular proceedings or information," he writes, and "what is crucial in individual cases is whether access to a particular government process is important in terms of that very process." Thus, Brennan finds a First Amendment right to attend trials because, first, it is a historical practice, and, second, public scrutiny is of value to the trial process itself.

The right of access may be extended even beyond those proceedings that meet Brennan's "structural" test. Justice Stevens counts noses in his concurring opinion and implies that there is now a majority of five — Brennan, Powell, Marshall, Blackmun, and himself — that would overrule the 1978 plurality decision in *Houchins v.*

KQED, Inc., which denied the news media a constitutional right of access to a California prison.

James Goodale also expects the language of *Richmond Newspapers* to strengthen the position of reporters subpoenaed to testify in court proceedings; they will now be able to argue that the Supreme Court has upheld their right to preserve the confidentiality of sources since this is part of their constitutionally protected right to gather the news.

Nevertheless, the euphoria generated by the Court's decision has been tempered by lawyerly caution. Most lawyers are understandably timid about predicting a brave new world of constitutional access. A Court that can swing from *DePasquale* to *Richmond Newspapers* within a year does not, after all, inspire a great feeling of confidence about what it may do in the future. "*Richmond Newspapers* validates the press's claim as the surrogate of the public in covering courtrooms," says Alice Neff Lucan, an attorney for the Gannett Co., Inc., "but it will not be terribly useful in opening up other proceedings." "There have been seeds that have been sown before which have dried up and shriveled away," says Jack Landau of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, adding that the decision could be enormously useful but that it will take another opinion to clarify it.

In addition to their doubts about the distance *Richmond Newspapers* can be stretched beyond its specific holding, Abrams and others fear the possibility of an insidious side effect. There is some risk that as courts become accustomed to performing balancing acts in right of access cases, the balancing mood will extend to a totally different and inappropriate area — prior restraints. The danger here is that courts may confuse these two wholly separate areas of First Amendment law, and relax the long-standing rule that any attempt at prior restraint of publication bears the heaviest constitutional burden against its validity. Thus, in a future *Pentagon Papers* or *Progressive* case a court might start balancing the government's rights against other rights instead of requiring the government, if it wants to block publication, to show a clear and present danger to national security.

The World's First Solar-Electric Community

This Indian village is Sun-Powered with the help of LEAD



The Papago Indian village of Schuchuli, Arizona gets all of its electricity directly from the sun and stores the excess in a huge lead-acid battery.

The upper left photo shows the village's solar cell array field which has 192 photovoltaic power modules that convert sunlight directly into electricity. This gives Schuchuli's 96 residents more than enough power for 15 refrigerators, a community washing machine, sewing machine and 5,000 gallon-per-day water pump, plus lighting for the village's 15 homes, church, feast house and domestic services building.

The excess electrical energy is stored in a battery system, having 53 lead-acid cells in series, which

supplies power when the sun isn't shining. The upper right photo shows David Santos, Village Chairman, flanked by the battery system which was specially designed by C & D Batteries Div. of Eltra Co. for this purpose.

The Schuchuli Photovoltaic Village Power Project was funded primarily by the Department of Energy and managed by the NASA Lewis Research Center. The U.S. Public Health Service administered local portions of the project. The power system was installed by the Papago Construction Company and the pole-line distribution system was erected by the Papago Tribal Utility Authority.

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A BASIC SOURCE

The invisible Cubans

The story of the gay refugees was a good one. Why didn't anyone want to tell it?

by MICHAEL MASSING

In the first two months after the Cuban migration began in late April, newspapers across the country churned out many hundreds of stories dissecting the refugees from almost every angle imaginable. The stream of detailed accounts reported that the 116,000 Cubans arriving at Key West and Miami included political dissidents, intelligence agents, prostitutes, cripples, criminals, misfits, Jehovah's Witnesses, and people simply looking for a better life.

There was one group, however, about whom the press largely remained mute, until *The Washington Post* on July 7 featured a front-page story headlined THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES FROM CUBA ARE GAY. "Thousands of homosexual Cubans came to the United States in the Cuba-to-Key West sealift," said the article by *Post* staff writer Warren Brown, "and as many as 20,000 of them are still in refugee camps awaiting resettlement, federal officials confirmed yesterday."

The story created an immediate sensation. Many papers picked it up directly from the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post syndication service or used a similar dispatch from The Associated Press. The *CBS Evening News* devoted thirty seconds to the subject at the end of its newscast that night. Some newspapers sent out their own reporters to do follow-ups, and even some foreign publications alerted their correspondents here to file material on the story. Gay organizations involved in resettling refugees received hundreds of phone calls from people volunteering help.

The *Post* story was a controversial

Michael Massing is executive editor of the Review.

one, especially in its estimate that as many as half the 40,000 Cubans remaining in the four resettlement camps were homosexuals. *The Miami Herald* ran its own article on July 8 contesting the *Post*'s figures, and the *Post* itself ran a follow-up on July 10 headlined REPORT ON TOTAL OF GAYS AMONG CUBANS DISPUTED. But even those who took issue with the *Post*'s estimates generally agree that the presence of gays among the refugees had been ignored for too long. For instance, Major Bob Flocke, the Army spokesman at the resettlement camp in Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania, says that while the *Post*'s figures seemed inflated, it was "a story that needed to be told." The gay angle provided new insight into the much-discussed matter of the refugees' reasons for leaving Cuba; it threw new light on the resettlement process, whose slowness had provoked a violent outbreak at the camp in Fort Chaffee, Arkansas; and it called attention to an immigration policy that officially bars "sexual deviants," a category traditionally defined to include homosexuals.

The story behind the story of the gay Cubans tells a good deal about the ways in which a news story becomes certified, or legitimized; about the key role a newspaper like *The Washington Post* can play in the process; and, more broadly, about the timidity and awkwardness of the American press in handling stories involving gays.

During the first weeks of the boatlift, the scores of reporters who descended on Miami, Key West, and Mariel, Cuba, were intent on describing the dramatic nature of the boatlift itself and, especially, the composition of the population arriving in those boats. Castro's announcement that he was emptying Cuba's jails and sending "scum" to the U.S. provoked an intensive look at the immigrants — their occupations, education, political attitudes, and any possible criminal history. It was not long before newspapers began delivering their collective verdict that the "undesirable" element among the refugees was minimal and that most of those ar-

riving here, if guilty of anything, had simply shown too great a distaste for Castro and his government.

On April 27, for instance, soon after the start of the boatlift, *The Washington Post* reported, "Butchers, bakers, teachers, truck drivers, they are labeled 'scum, parasites, vagabonds' and 'antisocial elements' by an embarrassed Fidel Castro regime. But their principal sin seems to be that old American virtue — wanting to get ahead." Similarly, on May 11, *The New York Times* relayed official reports that the "overwhelming majority" of those with criminal records "have been imprisoned for so-called 'antisocial' and 'antirevolutionary' offenses such as attempting to flee Cuba, refusing to work and criticizing or actively opposing the Castro regime."

Among the many articles chronicling the experiences of Cubans hard at work in their new country, some clues of the gay presence did appear. On May 16, for instance, the *Times* observed that "this wave of refugees differs significantly from earlier ones in that it is younger and heavily male." And a May 11 *Washington Post* article recounted the tale of a dancer who had been harassed by police for her association with homosexual dancers who performed with her at Havana's Hotel Nacional.

A few news organizations did pick up the gay angle at a relatively early stage. *The Sentinel*, a gay newspaper based in San Francisco, began carrying reports soon after the first boats arrived that large numbers of gays were coming here in order to escape persecution in Cuba, where homosexuals are not infrequently thrown into prison simply for being gay. *The Blade*, a gay biweekly in Washington, D.C., carried similar reports. And, in the non-gay press, stories were carried by *The Key West Citizen*, focusing on gays among the new arrivals; *The (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) Patriot*, reporting on gays at the nearby camp in Fort Indiantown Gap; and KRON-TV in San Francisco.

But most newspapers and broadcast

stations chose to pass over the story. This was not for lack of awareness of the gay angle; rather, the story simply was not "right." "Our interest was on what the makeup of the refugee group was and whether we were getting people of criminal background," says David Jones, national editor of *The New York Times*, which assigned three reporters to the refugees full-time and a handful more on a spot basis. "Our reporters wrote a number of stories trying to get a fix on the situation. In the course of that, it was clear homosexuals were coming in. We did give some consideration to giving special coverage, but the press of other events prevented us from doing a story on it."

"It was obvious there were gays in the resettlement barracks," says *Newsday's* Sylvia Moreno, who visited the Fort Chaffee camp, where she, like most reporters there, learned that two barracks of some 100 men apiece were given over to homosexuals. "You could see them walking up and down the street." But, she says, it didn't seem like much of a story: "I'd have to say I was more impressed with the prisoner population, rather than the gays." Likewise, Steve Brewer of the AP says of his visits to Fort Chaffee, "You see some evidence of gays, but I don't know if their proportion is any greater than the general population. When we were writing about the 'bad elements' at Fort Chaffee, gays were mentioned, but not prominently. My readers were more concerned about the criminal elements, the drug users, the insurgents — the troublemakers."

Warren Brown, author of the front-page article in the *Post*, had a similar reaction on his visits to the camps at Fort Chaffee and Eglin Air Force Base, where he was sent after disturbances there to report on the resettlement process. "At Eglin," he recalls, "these military guys came up to me in the bar — I'd have a press pass on — and say, 'You're here for the refugees, right? Are you going to write about the gays?'" The evidence at Fort Chaffee was even more striking. On his visit there after the June 1 riot, Brown walked along the "boulevard," a street inside the camp where, among a crowd of pimps, gamblers, and assorted hustlers, he saw pairs of men and women walking hand in hand. But,

he says, "I kind of ignored it. I just couldn't get excited over gays more than anybody else." Besides, he adds, "I was going after a different story."

What converted an oddity into a story for Brown was a leak from a White House source to the *Post* claiming that 10,000 to 20,000 of the 40,000 refugees still in the camps were gay. The leak represented perhaps the first information from any official source regarding the presence of homosexuals among the Cubans. (Officials at both the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which was supervising the resettlement process, had been mum on the subject since the opening of the camps.) This White House imprimatur helped legitimize the story for the *Post*. Although confirmation of the figures from the White House was hard to come by, Brown, after talking with officials at the camps, decided to go with the "up to 20,000" figure, pointing out at the same time that the number was only an estimate and had to be viewed with caution.

The *Post's* decision to run Brown's article and to play it prominently immediately brought the story out of the closet, and its effects were soon felt. As soon as the article appeared, offers of help in resettling gay Cubans began pouring in to the Metropolitan Community Church, a gay congregation based in Los Angeles that was helping with the resettlement process. "The phones began ringing off the wall" after the *Post* story, says the Reverend Troy Perry, the church's leader. As a result, he says, "We're going to move very fast. It will take six months, no longer, to clear out gays from the camps." Press coverage has also called attention to the fact that, unless the Immigration and Nationality Act is amended, thousands of the Cuban refugees may be unable to obtain citizenship here.

Given these ramifications, why did the story take so long to be told? One possible explanation is a problem faced by many reporters covering the refugees — the unavailability of reliable data. "Unless we had something really hard to substantiate it," says *The Boston Globe's* Maggie Rivas, "I didn't want to get into that [the gay story]." Joseph

UPI



B. Treaster of the *Times* agrees: "I just couldn't figure out how many there were. There was no way of getting a good count on any category of persons. I'm not satisfied that anybody knows how many people there are of different categories of criminals. I tried for several days to get a handle on 'undesirables.' It was a fast-moving story and I spent what time there was checking the angles that seemed most viable."

But uncertainty didn't stop reporters from writing about all those other categories. The fact that, almost alone, gays were neglected suggests more subtle factors at work. "Reporters working for the AP, *The Washington Post*, etc., aren't



Missing the boat: Many Cuban refugees were single men, as on this boat arriving at Key West in early May. But most reporters didn't ask why

sensitized yet to dealing with gay issues," says Don Michaels, managing editor of *The Blade* in Washington. "The press kept saying how single men were coming over in droves" without glimpsing the implications of that fact, he observes. Nor were reporters aware that in Cuba, the term "undesirable" is often used to refer to homosexuals. As a result, he says, the press overlooked an important aspect in the motivations for the migration. Reporters "looked at groups like the middle class fleeing Cuba, and people with different political philosophies, but they didn't look at the gays and their reasons for leaving," says Larry Bush, a reporter for San

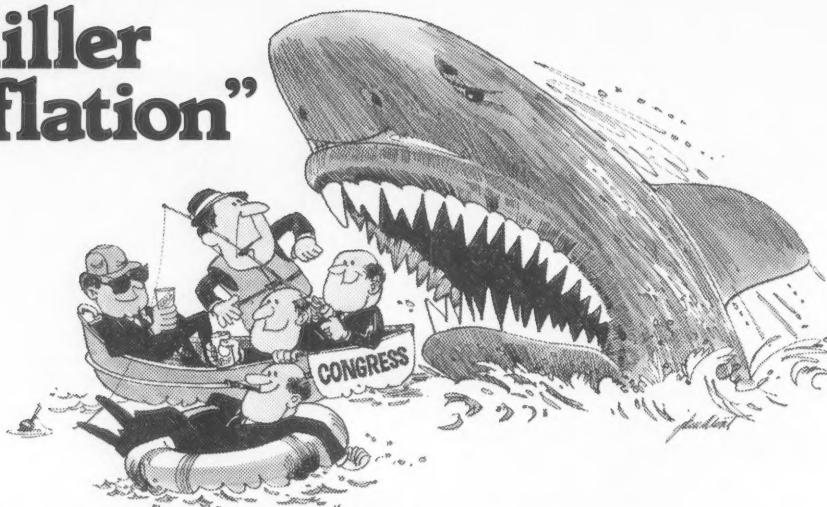
Francisco's *The Sentinel* who was among the first to write about the gay Cubans and the persecution many sought to escape.

In dodging the subject, of course, reporters were for the most part heeding signals put out by their editors. "Reporters always want a good story," observes Gail Christian, who filed an early report on the gays for San Francisco's KRON-TV. "They have to make sure it's something that makes their station or paper happy — something that fits their format, that their editors would play high." Had she not worked for a station located in a large gay market, she says, "perhaps I wouldn't have thought it was

a story." As Bush says, "At this point, gay news is not legitimate national news. Each new story involving gays has to be proved to be a legitimate story." The White House provided that legitimacy for the *Post*, and the *Post* for the rest of the country.

In terms of their media profile, gays are now roughly where blacks were twenty years ago, or women ten — a special interest group that attracts coverage for its demonstrations and petitions, rather than for its own particular perceptions, interests, and needs. The gay Cubans were a good story, but a complex one, and as a result, we learned of it much later than we should have. ■

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One of a series of messages to stimulate public dialogue about significant national issues.

In sportswriting, the "toy department of life," things are not exactly fun and games these days. Wherever you look, athletes and writers seem to be at each other's throats. For example:

- Philadelphia Phillies pitcher Steve Carlton and St. Louis Cardinals outfielder George Hendrick now refuse to talk with reporters, apparently upset about what they consider misquotes and distortions.
- Dave Kingman of the Chicago Cubs also refuses most interviews, though he found time earlier this year to dump a bucket of ice water over a writer's head.
- In 1978, Richard Levin of the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* wrote that Lakers' center Kareem Abdul-Jabbar wanted \$5,000 before he would visit a local juvenile rehabilitation center. After Levin's column appeared, Jabbar told him, "I have nothing to say to you," though he did not deny the story. Levin has been covering the Lakers ever since, and Jabbar, true to his word, has had nothing to say to him.

□ Before last season's AFC title game, Houston quarterback Dan Pastorini (now with the Oakland Raiders) knocked a sportswriter through a doorway and to the ground. It was the denouement of their shouting match over the writer's use of Pastorini quotations obtained from a radio broadcaster's tape recording. The writer, Dale Robertson of the *Houston Post*, had been forced to get his quotes in this fashion when Pastorini, miffed over the *Post*'s football coverage, refused to talk with him for approximately ten weeks.

□ Vida Blue, the San Francisco Giants' pitcher, told reporters after losing a tough game last season that if he had a gun he would bar them from the clubhouse.

Behind these incidents, and dozens of similar ones, lie frustrations and resentment on both sides. Athletes complain that many writers have become sarcastic, inaccurate, and generally "negative" in their coverage. Writers say that today's athlete tends to be hostile, thin-skinned, and spoiled. Both sides say this wasn't always the case.

They are right. Sportswriters and professional athletes have both changed considerably in the last half century, which helps explain the current discontent. All major sports have been affected, but these changes are most apparent in baseball, where writers virtually live with a team — covering it at home and on the road through a bone-wearing 162-game season.

Fifty years ago, baseball writers played cards with athletes on those all-night train rides, took them drinking, joked with them hour after hour in hotel lobbies.

Scott Kaufer is a writer, editor, and shortstop living in New York.

Sportswriters and players often became good friends. They had essentially the same standard of living; the players, with a few exceptions, were not rich men.

Writers in those days knew a great deal about a player's personal life, but it held no fascination for them, since a sportswriter's job was to chronicle what occurred on the field. By contrast, today's writer knows far less about a player's off-field life, but is hungry for any nugget he or she can get — some dialogue from the team bus, perhaps, or the latest squabble from the clubhouse. That's because the game itself is less important to sportswriters today. Their readers get the score each night on the eleven o'clock news. Maybe they've even watched the game on television, viewing endless replays of action the sportswriter himself has seen only once. By the next morning, what fan would be content simply to read an account of the doings on the field? With the advent of radio, and especially of television, sportswriting had to change. It had to offer readers something they could not get elsewhere: quotes from the clubhouse.

Sportswriters from the old school — Ring Lardner and the rest — stayed in the press box when a game ended. On cumbersome typewriters, or sometimes in longhand, they spun out their accounts of the game — wonderful narratives, many of them. Today, a reporter decides late in the game what his angle will be, which players he will track down to ask about which plays. When the game ends, the door of the press box

swings open and the reporters tumble out, a rampaging herd of buffalo heading for the elevator reserved for their use. Impatiently, they urge the attendant to close the door and start the car moving. When the elevator reaches the basement, they dash through the concrete maze of corridors toward the clubhouse of their choice — usually, the home-team clubhouse for the local press, and the visitors' for the out-of-town writers traveling with their team.

Those entering the winning clubhouse have the easier task. Their arrival goes virtually unnoticed amid the hoopla and the stream of well-wishers. More important, these writers will be asking the game's heroes to explain their success. Their colleagues, who must ask the game's goats to account for their failure, enter a clubhouse that is sullen and still. Hard stares greet them, these strangers at a funeral.

In both clubhouses, though, the situation is difficult — even absurd — for writers and players alike. Sometimes twenty or thirty reporters cluster around a player's locker. The object of their attention, looking astonishingly young up close, sits on a stool, trying to peel off his uniform amid the crush of elbows and notebooks. He drinks a beer. He belches. Soon he is naked, thinking only of his shower, but

the writers still want to know:

"What kind of pitch did you hit?" (Players invariably cite this as the all-time trite question.)

"How do you feel about your two hits today?"

"Are you in the groove now? You think you're ready to carry us?" ("I don't know," answers Reggie Jackson. "I'm not gonna carry you.")

Through it all, the writers appear as uncomfortable as the players. In the press box moments ago they seemed relaxed, cocky, cynical; here they are sheepish, soft-spoken. Players often walk away, or curse, or hold a grudge if questions offend them. Sportswriters therefore learn to chase after controversy while walking on eggs. They learn to ask tough, even needling questions in a supremely deferential way.

In the old days, of course, sportswriters covered their share of controversies (Babe Ruth's salary disputes, for example), just as today's writer manages to keep one eye peeled for developments on the field. Still, the inexorable drift in sportswriting has been away from the diamond and into the locker room, a development that doesn't please writers any more than it does athletes.

"I hate clubhouse/locker-room scenes," says Lyle Spencer, who covers the Dodgers for the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*. "It is degrading, for both parties involved. It's just a very weird situation. I've never felt comfortable talking to someone as he sprayed deodorant or took off his clothes or towed himself." But Spencer says the insatiable demand for a daily angle, especially on an after-

noon paper such as his, leaves writers no alternative.

Roger Angell covers baseball for *The New Yorker*, and his wanderings give him a good view of how the daily press operates. "The angle becomes so important that on occasion it can really distort what is happening," he says. "I mean, the Yankee clubhouse two years ago is the perfect example of that." The New York press, Angell says, "was beside itself," zealously chronicling the tensions that existed, in ever-shifting combinations, between owner George Steinbrenner, manager Billy Martin, and star players Reggie Jackson and the late Thurman Munson. Writers would fish around until they got one of the Yankees to say something derogatory about another, then take the quote to its subject for a reaction. Around and around it went — obscuring the fact, Angell notes, that this team was on its way to a second straight world championship.

John Hall, a *Los Angeles Times* sportswriter for the past twenty-seven years, agrees with Angell, adding, "I think [sportswriters] went out of their way to needle Thurman Munson just to get a reaction, and created an ogre where none existed. And once a guy gets cast in that role, it's tough to break out of it."

New York writers might argue that Munson liked the ogre role just fine, but that's another story. The point, as Hall says, is that "a lot of writers try to needle — to get that explosive story."

Billy Martin's forced resignation as Yankee manager two years ago is a case in point. Walking with two reporters to a

Sportswriting, then and now

The following stories appeared in The New York Times: the first, by Ralph D. Blanck, on May 2, 1920, and the second, by Murray Chass, last June 21.

Hub tie sets record

BOSTON — The Robins and the Braves celebrated May Day in this ordinarily peaceful city by staging a prolonged, heartbreaking struggle for twenty-six innings at Braves Field and bombing to bits all major league records for duration of hostilities. When darkness drew its mantle over the scene, both teams were still on their feet, interlocked in a death clutch and each praying for just one more inning in which to get in the knockout blow.

As far as results in the chase for the pennant go the game was without effect, for the final score was 1 to 1. In the matter of thrills, however, the oldest living man can remember nothing like it, nor can he find anything in his granddad's diary worthy of comparison. . . .

Nervous prostration threatened to engulf the stands as the twentieth inning passed away in the scoreless routine and word went out from the knowing fans to those of inferior baseball erudition that the National League record was twenty-two innings. . . .

The twenty-second inning passed in the history-making clash, and then the twenty-third, with a total result of four more ciphers on the scoreboard and a new National League record.

Now the old-timers in the stands began to whisper that the big-league record was twenty-four innings. . . . The Robins and the Braves didn't care. They didn't even know it. They simply went along in their sublime ignorance and tied this record, then smashed it, and by way of emphasis tacked on a twenty-sixth session.

At this stage of the proceedings Umpire McCormick yawned twice and observed that it was nearly bedtime. He remembered that he had an appointment with a succulent beefsteak and became convinced that it was too dark to play ball. Thereupon he called the game. . . .

Yanks triumph as Martin returns

NEW YORK — Billy Martin returned to Yankee Stadium last night and he was not too different from when he left last Sept. 30. He did have some nice things to say about George Steinbrenner, twice his former boss, but he was the same verbally combative Martin, vowing not to pay a \$250 fine to the American League office

and suggesting that the Government should investigate baseball.

The crowd of 45,935, as expected, greeted Martin with an ovation, but some fans tossed marshmallows onto the field and most of them thunderously saluted Reggie Jackson, once Martin's enemy, after he hit a fifth-inning home run. The crowd demanded an encore appearance by Jackson immediately after the homer, then roared again when he went to right field at the end of the inning.

Jackson's two-run homer, his 17th, was one of three the Yankees hit in a 15-7 victory. It was their eighth straight. . . .

"I'll be glad when tomorrow's over," [Martin] said, referring to today's Old-Timers Day festivities, for which he had not decided if he would wear his old Yankee uniform. "It's uptight time being back in New York."

But it also was fun. "Everybody's been great, smiling, shaking hands," he said. "It's like I'm running for office. It's great to be back."

After having arrived from Baltimore at 4 A.M., Martin was up in time to begin filming a Pepto-Bismol commercial with Steinbrenner at 10.

"George had 57 takes, I had only three," he quipped. "No, George's lines are very simple: 'Billy, use a spoon.' George looked good. He was very friendly, very nice. It was good seeing him." . . .



'Soon the player is naked, thinking only of his shower, but the writers still want to know: "What kind of pitch did you hit?"'

Reggie Jackson in the Yankee locker room

plane, he allowed as how George Steinbrenner, who had once been convicted of election law violations, and Reggie Jackson had a lot in common: "One's a born liar, the other's convicted." The reporters hadn't needed, exactly, except to the extent that their constant presence, the rapt attention they paid to every tantrum, helped trigger the outburst. Naturally, they rushed into print with this nugget from a tired and dispirited Billy Martin, and naturally it created a big stir. Martin had to quit.

Their counterparts fifty years ago might not have printed the item, for reasons both good and bad. They would have wanted to protect their pal the manager, but more legitimately, yesterday's sportswriter probably would have seen the remark as gossip unrelated to the game.

Today the game is often covered as mere backdrop to the personal melodrama of these two dozen athletes crisscrossing the country together. Thus, when the San Diego Padres beat the Los Angeles Dodgers one day this season, the next morning's *Los Angeles Times* carried the subhead, FERGUSON, LASORDA IN A SHOUTING MATCH AFTER 4-3 LOSS TO PADRES IN 15TH INNING. In the second paragraph of reporter Mike Littwin's story came the details:

Joe Ferguson, who had lost two fly balls to the sun in right field in the fateful 15th [inning], engaged Manager Tom Lasorda in a postgame shouting match as they walked off the field, according to an eyewitness.

Coach Danny Ozark apparently intervened, taking Ferguson aside. Ferguson was heard to tell Ozark: "I'm tired of this — Danny, he's been on my ass all year."

Littwin, who was not alone in his As-The-Clubhouse-Turns rendition of that day's game story, failed to mention that Ferguson later gave Lasorda a ride back from the ball park. Their "rift," apparently, had healed before any writer made it to the typewriter. Readers might wonder whether

even a genuine feud deserves such prominence. As for players, it is the breathless coverage of feuds real and imagined that makes it easy for them to dismiss sportswriters as mere gossip columnists.

John Hall says he would like to see a clinic conducted to teach writers and athletes how to deal with each other — although, as Roger Angell says with a laugh, "a lot of ballplayers wouldn't want to go." In any case, the forces bringing writers and athletes into conflict may be too strong for any seminar to correct. The invasion of the clubhouse has been the chief irritant, but other changes — some occurring only within the past decade or so — have exacerbated the problem. For example:

□ The public expectation of athletes is changing. They are no longer forced to wear the straitjacket of heroic image; now it is considered acceptable for a player to smoke, drink, wear his hair long, dress as he pleases, and say what he thinks. The result, says former Detroit Tiger star Al Kaline, is that athletes today are "a little more vocal" about things — such as expressing displeasure with reporters. Kaline recalls one year in the late 1950s when he was earning about \$70,000 — then an enormous sum for a ballplayer — and had gotten off to a slow start at the plate. "And every time I read an article, they'd say, 'So-and-so is batting .300 and he's making less [money than Kaline].'" I took that as something personal, but I never said anything about it. I just thought, if that's what he wants to write, I'll just have to do something [on the field] to change his thinking." Today, Kaline says, a player would just as soon confront the offending reporter.

□ Skyrocketing player salaries have created more distance between athletes and writers. Gone forever are the simple days described so lyrically in Jerome Holtzman's 1973 book *No Cheering in the Press Box*, an oral history of veteran sportswriters. The players and writers portrayed by

Holtzman lived more or less the same kind of life, giving them a larger patch of common ground. Now, as the *Herald-Examiner's* Lyle Spencer notes, ballplayers make so much money that many have begun to resemble prizefighters, surrounded by their own entourage, driving huge cars, enjoying the trappings of wealth and celebrity. It is, he says, a situation that creates distance even between teammates, let alone between writer and athlete. In addition, the huge salaries breed resentment in some writers, which further erodes the relationship. It's not that writers covet the cash, exactly; rather, they see it as one more privilege these young men receive and don't appreciate. Since writers tend to resent athletes to begin with (what potbellied scribe hasn't dreamed of playing center field himself?), it doesn't help that today's ballplayer is often a twenty-eight-year-old millionaire who doesn't like giving interviews.

□ The press corps has grown from pack to swarm. For every big-city daily that has died, removing a reporter from the press box, there have sprung up a dozen cable systems, sports weeklies, radio interview shows, and telephone sports lines. At the 1980 All-Star game there were over 500 accredited reporters. Every one of them, it seemed, wanted

to ask Earl Weaver the same thing at the same time.

□ The proliferation of sports media parallels a growth in baseball's own promotional activities, and writers complain that athletes sometimes lump them together with a team's public relations flacks. "Most guys, they don't really understand the function of the reporter," says Lyle Spencer. "A lot of professional athletes view the reporter as an extension of the public relations department — his job is to dramatize heroic deeds." But perhaps the distinction would be more apparent to athletes if writers didn't accept free food and cocktails from a ball club, didn't write puff pieces for the stadium program, and didn't accept (as some newspapers, incredibly, still do) free travel expenses.

□ The lessons of Watergate-style journalism have filtered down to the sports section, although something has been lost in translation. Sports journalists now have a heightened sense of "investigative" reporting, but as John Gregory Dunne wrote in a recent *New West* column, this shows itself more in "macho posturing," in snide observations about a team's weak spots, than in any increase in thorough reporting. Dunne calls this new style "sports typing" — because it's easy and artless.

□ Sportswriters are predominantly white, middle-class

Striking out on the labor beat

The changing character of baseball has not only confronted sportswriters with a new breed of recalcitrant star, but is also forcing them to cope with the complexities of arbitration, collective bargaining, salary disputes, and reserve clauses. It is easy to get lost in this thicket, as was demonstrated by coverage of this year's much-publicized, much-feared baseball strike that never was.

From the start of earnest negotiations in February over a new agreement between the Players Association and team owners, sportswriters around the country reported that a strike was inevitable. On March 14, for instance, Larry Whiteside of *The Boston Globe* wrote that, "despite reports to the contrary, there is no chance of the players starting the season without a new Basic Agreement and striking later, say on Memorial Day." And, on April 1, *The New York Times* reported that "it appears virtually certain that the walkout will begin tomorrow." Both accounts were wrong; the players announced on that April Fools' Day that, after an eight-day walkout at the end of spring training, they would in fact open the season without a new agreement.

The players' new deadline for a settlement was May 23, and as the date drew near sportswriters, in almost total unanimity, renewed their predictions of a strike. **BALLPLAYERS PREPARING FOR STRIKE** announced a *Times* headline on May 18; **BARGAINERS COULD USE A MIRACLE** declared *The Sporting News* three days later; **MILLER: 'NO AVOIDING STRIKE'** reported the *Globe* the next day.

So the surprise was considerable when, on May 23, the two sides announced an agreement had indeed been reached. There was also considerable confusion. "I refuse to go into any other particulars of the settlement," Ray

Fitzgerald mused in the *Globe*, "mostly because I don't understand them."

The confusion was not surprising, for, despite the complexity of the threatened strike in a major American enterprise, not one newspaper in the country had assigned a labor writer to the story. Coverage was entrusted solely to sportswriters who, for the most part, didn't know an impasse from a lockout. "It's almost as if you asked the music critic or the author of the cooking column to cover this," says Marvin Miller, the players' negotiator. As a result, the press failed to grasp the overriding reality of the negotiations — that the talk of a strike was essentially rhetoric, and that neither party had much to gain from a walkout. Many owners with shaky franchises could not afford even a short strike; deprived of revenue from ticket sales, concessions, and TV rights, they would be hard pressed to cover such fixed expenses as the cost of maintaining their minor league teams. At the same time, a strike would have cost union members an estimated \$500,000 a day in salaries. On top of that, neither side was eager to risk alienating the fans.

But both parties tried to exploit the press's ignorance for their own ends. The union's principal aim in the negotiations was to preserve as much as possible of the free-agent system that had been in place since the previous Basic Agreement reached in 1976. This system permitted a player with six or more years in the big leagues to become a "free agent" by terminating his contract with his current club and selling his services to another team — usually at a much higher price. Salaries have skyrocketed under the system, from an average \$51,500 per player in 1976 to \$113,000 in 1979. The owners, dismayed by this huge increase, re-

men. Increasingly, ballplayers are black or Spanish-speaking — men from a different culture. It is easy to make too much of this difference, but it is keenly felt by many athletes — and with reason. Spencer is convinced that many of his colleagues have no idea how to deal with black athletes. "They regard these guys as aliens," he says. "They joke about them, laugh at them." (The situation is the same in basketball. Says Bob Ryan, who covers the Celtics for *The Boston Globe*: "I would be willing to bet that I'm the envy of the league because I happen to cover one of the two whitest teams in the NBA [National Basketball Association]. . . . It's a sad commentary, but not just on sports. It's a sad commentary on society.")

□ Perhaps most galling of all for sportswriters, they are no longer the stars of the press box. Television, which forced writers down into the locker room, has now stolen much of their clout as well. For players, there is little glamour in talking to a "print guy" when they can chat with Tony Kubek or Joe Garagiola and end up on national TV. A common sight during pregame warm-ups is the player who has little patience for a writer but will sit still for any sort of gimmickry, probing questions, or cute pieces of business that Tony and Joe cook up for the pregame show.

solved this year to inhibit free agency by requiring a team signing a free agent to pay substantial compensation (in the form of players) to the team losing that player. Such a requirement, by making owners less willing to pay huge sums to free agents, would tend to hold salaries down.

The situation this spring, then, was the reverse of the typical labor confrontation: it was the union that really wanted to preserve the status quo as long as possible, while management sought major changes. Since the provisions of the 1976 agreement remained in effect as negotiations continued, a strike made little sense for the players.

Miller did have a problem, however — convincing Ray Grebey, the owners' chief negotiator, to make concessions on the free-agent formula, minimum salaries, and the owners' contributions to the player pension plan. To pressure the owners, Miller took the position that the ballplayers would strike if an agreement were not reached by the deadline they had set.

Only rarely did writers think to ask Miller what would be the point of walking out over the compensation issue. When they did, Miller explained that while the owners were continuing to abide by the 1976 agreement during the negotiations, there was a substantial threat that they might wait until the end of the season, and then declare an impasse in the negotiations and cancel the free-agent draft scheduled for November. The sportswriters accepted this explanation at face value, unaware that management would have had to defend its declaration of an impasse before the National Labor Relations Board, which rarely upholds such unilateral action so long as the other side indicates its willingness to go on negotiating. "The only justification you can give for that type of a press reaction is that they never bothered to do their homework," says John Gaherin, Grebey's predecessor

Sportswriters say they resent this from players. Players reply that, as Pittsburgh Pirates outfielder Dave Parker puts it, "No chance of being misquoted on TV. I hate being misquoted." Parker says that one misquote — a mangled rendering of something innocent he once said about a Phillies player — brought him a death threat the next time the Pirates visited Philadelphia. Of course, it's not every player who can save himself for TV. "Not everyone can get on a show," says Dodger shortstop Bill Russell, one of his team's less celebrated members. "You've got to be a Pete Rose or a Stargell." For the stars, though, television provides a direct route to the public, letting them avoid the filters that sportswriters use. "That's the attitude I take," says silent Dave Kingman of the Cubs, refusing further comment on the matter. Kingman, in fact, found sportswriters so bothersome that earlier this season he wrote his own column for the *Chicago Tribune*, often attacking the press.

And what about Steve Carlton, the Phillies' ace pitcher? Is television the reason why he, too, doesn't give interviews to sportswriters?

"The reason why is an interview," Carlton says, "and I don't give interviews." ■

as the owners' chief negotiator. "If they went in to see their own labor writer, they would have had their answer."

In any event, a week before the May 23 deadline management removed Miller's stated reason for a strike by guaranteeing that no impasse would be declared in 1980 and that the ultimate settlement of the dispute over minimum salaries and pensions would be retroactive. Nevertheless, Miller continued to insist that the players would not work past May 22 without a new agreement. This rather startling claim raised little skepticism among sportswriters, who continued to write that a strike was inevitable.

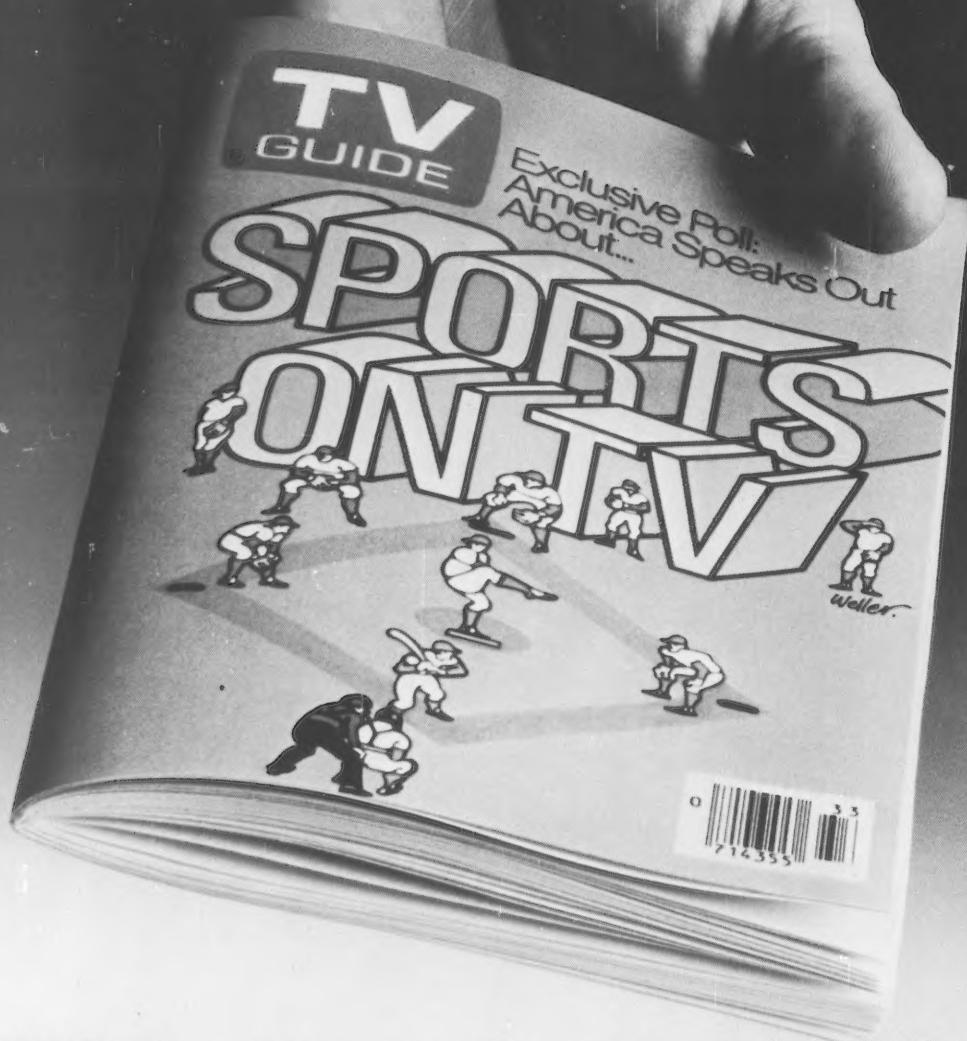
Miller's strategy worked: so strong was the press's message that a strike was inevitable that some of the owners themselves were taken in. On May 23, after the owners had made concessions on salaries and pensions, the two sides settled all issues except free-agent compensation, on which they agreed to resume negotiations this fall, with a timetable for resolving the dispute by next year. At that time, the specter of a strike could reappear, in which case writers might bear in mind their poor prognostications in 1980.

Peter Seitz, the labor arbitrator whose 1975 decision on baseball's reserve clause helped usher in the era of free agency, observes that "knowing [Miller] . . . , I knew that if the pressure on [the owners] was strong enough, there wouldn't be a strike. They didn't want a strike. Why should anybody want a strike? They're selling more soggy rolls and beer and tickets and everything else."

"That doesn't mean that Miller's rhetoric is different than any other union leader," Seitz adds. "Labor reporters are accustomed to this kind of thing; sportswriters are not."

ANDREW CRANE

Andrew Crane is a former New York sportswriter who now practices law in Barre, Vermont.



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BOOKS

Pundit to an age

Walter Lippmann and the American Century

by Ronald Steel

Atlantic/Little, Brown 669 pp. \$19.95

by JUSTIN KAPLAN

Walter Lippmann started strong and had tremendous staying power. When he was an undergraduate at Harvard, William James and George Santayana, who disagreed on practically everything, agreed on Lippmann's intellectual boldness and sophistication, his ability to master details and systems at the same time. His classmate John Reed introduced him at a college lunch as "the future President of the United States!" The muckraker Lincoln Steffens hired the twenty-year-old prodigy to be his assistant and claimed credit for his swift transformation into a polished professional journalist whose only excess was that he was irrepressibly thoughtful. ("Walter," his second wife shouted to him when they were rock-climbing, "look, don't think!") By the time Lippmann reached twenty-five and had published *A Preface to Politics*, his distinctive accommodation of Bull Moose progressivism with the ideas of Sigmund Freud, Theodore Roosevelt was calling him "the most brilliant man of his age in all the United States."

Lippmann soon rejected muckraking as a futile and moralistic exercise dealing only with conventional acts, but he did not reject Steffens's policy of dealing with "principals," not "heelers." He enjoyed confidential access to sources at the highest possible level, including both Roosevelts, de Gaulle, Khrushchev, and John F. Kennedy. He told fellow journalists who envied him, "Put not your trust in princes," but apparently he did not follow his own ad-

vice. He had to admit that while enjoying the celebrated full treatment at the hands of Lyndon Johnson he had been deliberately "misled," played as a cover for a Vietnam policy he abhorred. Lippmann's ensuing attack on Johnson's war policy was "his finest hour," Ronald Steel says, a return to the high principles and commitments with which he had started out so long before.

When at the age of seventy-seven Lippmann finally gave up his "Today and Tomorrow" column after thirty-six years of unmatched influence (at one point it appeared in over 200 daily newspapers), he made his exit, according to James Reston, as "the greatest journalist of the present age." Early in his career Lippmann had decided that "if I wrote a paragraph about a fire down the street, I must write it with as much care as if that paragraph were going down in one of the anthologies." This encouraged a certain ex cathedra quality in his pronouncements, but there is no denying the fact that he gave his profession intellectual, literary, and also social status and in doing so became a conspicuous public personality. A 1932 *New Yorker* cartoon showed one dowager remarking to another, "Of course, I only take a cup of coffee in the morning. A cup of coffee and Walter

Lippmann is all I need." An entire generation of Americans grew up accustomed to having Lippmann's distinctively parental views hurled at them over the family table.

"Lippmann's leap to popular fame had several causes," Ronald Steel explains. "His was the first political column devoted entirely to opinion. Columnists who began somewhat earlier — David Lawrence, Mark Sullivan, Frank Kent — were reporters and inside dopesters rather than analysts. The personal editorializing of 'Today and Tomorrow' rested on a frank recognition that, as Lippmann had argued in *Public Opinion*, most journalism was not about facts, but about interpretation of what seemed to be 'facts.'"

Steel goes on to note that Lippmann "attributed his success, and that of other columnists who followed his example, to the growing complexities of public life and the need of newspaper editors for someone with New York and Washington connections who could put the news into perspective. Most could not afford correspondents of their own. With the New Deal and the expansion and centralization of the federal bureaucracy, the effective capital of the United States moved from New York to Washington, and the Washington jour-

Justin Kaplan is the author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain; Lincoln Steffens; and the forthcoming Walt Whitman: A Life.*



"Lippmann scares me this morning."

Cartoon copyright © 1943 James Thurber. Copyright © 1971 Helen W. Thurber and Rosemary Thurber Sauer

BOOKS

nalist insider came into his own. 'But for that historic change the profession of the syndicated columnist would not, I believe, have developed,' Lippmann later said.' He became the pundit of pundits, the ultimate establishment insider, and, in cyclical fashion, his retirement came at a time when muckraking and outsider journalism were on the upswing.

Nearly six years after his death in a New York nursing home, Lippmann is now the subject of a major biography that draws on the letters and papers at Yale, and also of a novel, *The House of the Prophet*, by Louis Auchincloss, who was Lippmann's friend and lawyer. Auchincloss is cited as a source of information and editorial counselor in the acknowledgments in *Walter Lippmann and the American Century*, and at least in the echo of his name Ronald Steel appears to figure in the novel as "Roger Cutter," authorized biographer of the man one of Auchincloss's characters calls "the divine umpire," "the great onlooker." Without claiming for either Steel or Auchincloss's fictional biographer the role of agonistic hero, I suggest that writing the life of Walter Lippmann presents a number of formidable problems.

To begin with, there is the sheer spread and bulk of Lippmann's life, the important people he knew, and the history he was witness to in the course of a long life lived so recently that it is difficult to impose a sensible perspective on it. His career on *The New Republic* and the Pulitzer's *World* and as a syndicated columnist is in itself an important chapter in the story of American journalism, and yet even this apparently integral story can scarcely be recounted in a significant way without at the same time recounting, in frequently burdensome detail, the events Lippmann was interpreting. It may have been in the nature of his profession, as he defined it, that his vital energies were largely directed outward, in search of "direct and certain knowledge," as he wrote in *Public Opinion*, instead of "pictures" of reality. His personal life was so subordinate to his professional life that even his scandalous liaison with and subsequent marriage to the wife of his

friend Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs*, could be seen as having outwardly directed implications. Armstrong never again mentioned Lippmann by name in his articles and excised all references to him by other writers for the magazine. Steel reports that Dorothy Thompson (who should not be taken too seriously on this subject) was afraid that "a falling-out between two such ardent and influential internationalists as Lippmann and Armstrong . . . might weaken the willingness of Americans to confront the Nazi menace."

Steel's title makes it clear from the start that he has written a life-and-times sort of biography. His book is deeply and patiently researched, evenhanded, and thorough-going, although it is written without much distinction. The cliché "bemused detachment" appears at least twice. Lippmann "haunted art museums with a single-minded dedication," Steel writes, and "burrowed into the stacks of Widener Library" (which, incidentally, did not exist until about five years after Lippmann left Harvard). There are several surprises in the narrative: Lippmann's secret diplomatic negotiations in Mexico during the oil and mineral rights nationalization crisis of 1927, for example, and his services as literary scout for Harcourt Brace, to which he brought Maynard Keynes, Lytton Strachey, Virginia Woolf, and other Bloomsburians. But *Walter Lippmann and the American Century* has many of the drawbacks inherent in the life-and-times approach: indecisive focus; dutiful rehashes of such worked-over subjects as the Cuban missile crisis; soggy attempts to encapsulate private and public history in a single lead sentence — "While Lippmann was in Maine deciding whether or not to go back to the column, Hitler and Stalin stunned the world by signing a nonaggression pact."

These objections aside, Steel has done an admirable job in coping with another of the challenges in writing Lippmann's life: his many, sometimes baffling shifts in position and loyalty in public affairs. The student iconoclast becomes a believer in the scientific management of society; the Village radical joins the world of exclusive



DeVecchio

clubs and corporate power and has to be warned by William Allen White, "Don't let the Bankers get you"; the liberal becomes a conservative and even, during FDR's second administration, "an implacable reactionary in the eyes of New Deal loyalists." All of this may be a reminder that these hackneyed categories may have no meaning at all except when applied to particular issues at a particular time. "Having no firm guidepost other than pragmatism," Steel argues, "lacking a philosophical or ideological commitment, reluctant to accept the part that economic demands or imperial ambitions might play in explaining American foreign policy, Lippmann was unable to take a consistent approach to the issues he wrote about. He dealt with each situation on an ad hoc basis. This gave a seesaw quality to some of his arguments — as, for example, in the Dardanelles and the Czech crises. Although he often criticized the administration, every administration, his criticism focused on tactics rather than goals. Indeed, he often seemed to share the goals." Steel describes Lippmann's 1937 book, *The Good Society*, as "intellectually split down the middle: half classic laissez-faire, half welfare-state liberalism," a demonstration of Lippmann's fundamental "confusion."

In line with such forthrightness Steel cites many instances of Lippmann's



"The ultimate establishment insider":
Lippmann interviewed by Eric Sevareid
for CBS-TV, June 1965

going off the tracks altogether. In the spring of 1933, shortly after the Reichstag fire, the suppression of all political opposition to the Nazis, and a boycott of Jewish business and professions, "Today and Tomorrow" called Hitler "the authentic voice of a genuinely civilized people." Lippmann expected America's role in World War II to be played out "on the seas and in the air and in the factory — not on the battlefields of Europe or Asia." He contributed to the hysteria about Americans of Japanese ancestry that led to Roosevelt's infamous Executive Order 9066 and the imprisonment of about 120,000 unoffending citizens in concentration camps. He predicted that "among the really difficult problems of the world" the Arab-Israeli conflict was "one of the simplest and most manageable." During the twenty-six years preceding the school integration riots of 1957 in Little Rock, Lippmann devoted only ten columns to the issue of race and what he called "the special conditions of the South"; he even supported a filibuster against a federal antilynching law. "Nixon is the only one," he declared in 1968, hailing a "new Nixon, a maturer and mellower man who is no longer clawing his way to the top . . . who has outlived and outgrown the ruthless politics of his early days."

One senses in the Lippmann who emerges from Steel's candid account a

fundamental timorousness, a desire to belong at any cost. Steel devotes a sizable part of his narrative to articulating the problem of Lippmann's Jewishness. For Lippmann, as for Bernard Berenson, with whom he carried on a revealing correspondence, this was at the same time a social affliction and a goad to high achievement. Berenson was an East European immigrant, member of a huge influx population that the upper-class German-Jewish Lippmann had been trained from boyhood on to look down upon as "Orientals" whose seemingly ineradicable identity was in itself believed to be the prime cause of antisemitism. ("I do not regard the Jews as innocent victims," Lippmann commented on the issue of imposing a quota system at Harvard. "They hand on unconsciously and uncritically from one generation to another many distressing personal and social habits, which were selected by a bitter history and intensified by a pharisaical theology.") Both Lippmann and Berenson became conspicuous examples of a social type Judith Shklar calls "the court Jew," who "identifies himself with whatever upper class he may encounter, and does so in the hope of overcoming his despised, actual self. As a cure for self-hatred this is pure poison."

One may imagine Lippmann's feelings when his old schoolmate at Sachs Collegiate Institute in Manhattan, Carl Binger, was dumped as John Reed's Harvard roommate because Reed wanted to keep his social record clean in order to make Hasty Pudding. A few years later Lippmann felt the lash directly when an enraged Theodore Roosevelt described the editors of *The New Republic* as "three circumcised Jews and three anemic Christians." The craving for assimilation became one of the springs of Lippmann's private, social, and professional demeanor and generated some grotesquely distorted "pictures" of the world, especially the world of the Nazi death camps, which he never wrote about at all. "Unquestionably he felt the plight of the Jews, perhaps even identified with it. Yet his silence was striking," says Steel, who records a visit Lippmann made to

Auschwitz but not what he had to say about it. It is altogether to Steel's credit that there is more sadness and bafflement in *Walter Lippmann and the American Century* than one might have expected from a life of such evident preeminent and rewards.

Middleman in Nixonia

Making It Perfectly Clear

by Herbert G. Klein

Doubleday & Company, 408 pp. \$14.95

by LOU CANNON

The news on August 5, 1974, was not what Richard Nixon had said about his old friend and faithful public servant, Herb Klein. The news that day was what he had said in a taped conversation on June 23, 1972 — the "smoking gun" tapes — in which he talked with H. R. Haldeman about his desire to divert the Watergate investigation for political reasons. Their conversation was framed in trivia: at one point Nixon talked with some concern about how traveling in helicopters wrecked the coiffures of his wife and daughters. And "in the midst of all this fatal but rambling discussion," as Klein puts it in this latest insider's account of the Nixon White House years, Nixon also talked about Klein.

"And look, you've just not got to let Klein ever set up a meeting again," Nixon is heard to say. "He just doesn't have his head screwed on. You know what I mean. He just opens it up and sits there with eggs on his face. He's just not our guy at all, is he?" Haldeman, the then-loyal minion, agrees. And Nixon adds: "Absolutely, totally, unorganized."

Making It Perfectly Clear is another demonstration of the Nixon weakness for half-truths. Judging from the stream-of-consciousness structure of this reminiscence by Nixon's onetime White House director of communications, and the way it bobs back and forth

Lou Cannon, who currently covers the Reagan campaign for The Washington Post, was a White House correspondent for his newspaper during the last two years of the Nixon administration.

in time and wavers in tone, Nixon may have had a point about Klein's disorganization. But if the reader can find his way through the flashbacks which muddle many of the book's best passages, he will learn that Klein most certainly had "his head screwed on" when it came to observing both Nixon and the press.

Klein, now editor-in-chief of Copley Newspapers, was an acknowledged good guy in the Nixon White House, a decent, honorable man whose reputation for truth-telling made it unnecessary for him to tell reporters that he would never lie to them. He met Nixon in 1946 when the two men were fresh out of the Navy, and Klein, a reporter for a small southern California newspaper, was assigned to cover a debate between Nixon and Democrat Jerry Voorhis, whom Nixon that year would oust from Congress. During the next generation, while Nixon became at once the most enduring and the most controversial figure of his party, Klein was with him as press secretary or adviser. Klein offers us selec-

tive freeze-frames of this period — the "last press conference" (which Klein thought he had talked Nixon out of giving), Nixon's running debate with the traveling press during his losing campaign for the presidency in 1960, Nixon's hesitant attempts during the 1968

new, the ITT case, the attempt of White House aides Haldeman and Charles Colson to force more favorable coverage of Nixon, and the mental circling of the wagons which occurred as a siege mentality developed within the White House.

In Klein's view the hostility between president and press that characterized the Nixon years is not inherent in the American political system. "An intelligent president who fully understands the need for substance and for sensitive communication with the American people . . . could reverse the history of running warfare between the media and the White House," he writes. But Klein gives few suggestions as to how this state of moderation is to be attained.

What he does make perfectly clear is Nixon's combative ness toward a press that he misunderstood and distrusted. On June 10, 1969, for example, while he was still being given high marks by the news media, Nixon read a relatively mild press complaint that his administration was not as open as had been promised. His reply, in the form of a memo signed by Alexander Butterfield to John Ehrlichman, contains portents of cover-up: "John — tell Herb and Ron [Ziegler] to ignore this kind of criticism. The fact of the matter is that we are far too open. If we treat the press with a little more contempt we'll probably get better treatment."

This was the attitude that pervaded the relationship between Nixon and the news media. Long before the Enemies List, the press was the identified enemy. Obsessed with the belief that the television networks were mistreating the administration, the president and Haldeman gave their approval to a long-pending and badly researched Justice Department lawsuit aimed at forcing the networks to curtail production of feature films that were under their direct control. From time to time Haldeman would walk into senior staff meetings and instruct everyone not to talk to *The Washington Post* or *The New York Times*. On February 4, 1970, Haldeman sent Klein a memorandum criticizing him for failing to get the story out "about how the President has overcome the great handicaps under which he came into office —

**'If we treat the press
with a little more contempt
we'll probably
get better treatment'**

White House memo
June 10, 1969

campaign to overcome the negative view he thought reporters held of him. But the focus of *Making It Perfectly Clear*, to the extent that it has one, is what happened after the 1968 election. Again, Klein is selective. His field of fire embraces attacks on the mass media by the "discombobulating" Spiro Ag-

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speech.... Whoever would
overthrow the liberty of
a nation must begin by
subduing the freedom of
speech....

Benjamin Franklin

The alternatives are clear. So is the choice.

**The best ideas are the
ideas that help people. ITT**

specifically, the hostile press epitomized by the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, etc., the hostile network commentators, the generally hostile White House press corps, the hostile Congress, etc. . . ."

Dutifully and accurately, Klein points out the other side: a campaign press corps overly favorable to John F. Kennedy in the 1960 campaign, television inaccuracy on various occasions, emotionalism at White House briefings, and reporters who let their views about Watergate or Nixon creep into print. But all politicians have bad moments with the press, and Klein never comes up with a convincing explanation as to why the name "Nixon," more than that of any other president, should be synonymous both with hostility toward the press and with press hostility. Klein's explanation is Nixon's own — that it started in the days when Nixon was a congressman going after Alger Hiss (though Klein, as others have done, points out that Nixon in fact was greatly aided by a knowledgeable newspaperman in his pursuit of Hiss). Klein also observes that all of Nixon's other presidential triumphs — the "Checkers speech," his debate with Khrushchev, the Caracas escape — got extensive press coverage that furthered Nixon's political career. Klein does not mention, however, that Nixon came into politics

with an antipress bias — that his father hated the press and that Nixon, as a schoolboy, won an oratory contest with a speech that asked this rhetorical question: "Should the morals of this nation be offended and polluted in the name of freedom of speech and freedom of the press?" Neither Klein nor this reviewer is a licensed psychiatrist but it seems obvious that Nixon's hostility toward the press did not begin with Alger Hiss.

Fortunately for him, if not for Nixon, Klein had been eased out of the White House before the final, trying days of the administration that he had faithfully served. He offers no inner revelations from the kingdom just before it fell. But the variety of memorandums from Haldeman and Colson that he reproduces here, memos which make up in hostility for what they lack in comprehension of the press, are as valuable as the White House tapes in understanding what happened to Nixon. Klein was a natural target for these memos, and one suspects that the people writing them would have done even more harm than they did if they hadn't wasted time trying to convince Herb Klein to do what was wrong.

The memorandums did not exist in a vacuum. They reflected the character and personality of Nixon, an insecure, suspicious man, "deeply embroiled in his own ego and pride," whom Klein

describes as having dreams of greatness — and the intelligence and powers of concentration to achieve them. At times, Klein acknowledges, he did not understand Nixon. At other times he did. "The former President's moments of greatest exhilaration are hard to record," Klein writes. "I do not recall a moment when I saw him completely lost in happiness — although he may have felt it and contained it within."

It is a terrifying judgment.

Who's on First?

The Press As Guardian of the First Amendment

by John Lofton. University of South Carolina Press. 358 pp. \$14.95

by JAMES BOYLAN

The function of the press within what Thomas I. Emerson has dubbed the "system of freedom of expression" has been clouded by ambiguities. Although journalism is often perceived as the chief beneficiary of the First Amendment, its alacrity in defending constitutional rights has varied greatly, depending on historical circumstance. The historian can espouse the press acting in a variety of roles, not all of them seemly — that of a political flunky, willing to invoke or disregard the Constitution as partisanship demands; that of a panader, given to hawking whatever political passion rules the moment; that of a lobbyist, using the Constitution as a tool for enlarging its own prerogatives; or, finally, that of an ombudsman, defending a more or less consistent set of principles on behalf of society at large.

In this survey by John Lofton — who, incidentally, is an editorial writer for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and should not be confused with the columnist John D. Lofton, Jr., who gives lessons in Republican — the press comes out (as best I can estimate) perhaps 20 percent flunky, 40 percent panader, 30 percent lobbyist, and 10 percent ombudsman. In delineating these roles, Lofton lays out an abundance of incident spread over the

Herb Klein, right, stands behind his boss at "Nixon's last press conference" following his defeat in the 1962 California gubernatorial race. Klein had called the conference to go over election results, and Nixon took over to inform the press that they would not have Richard Nixon to kick around any more



James Boylan, the Review's founding editor, teaches journalism at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

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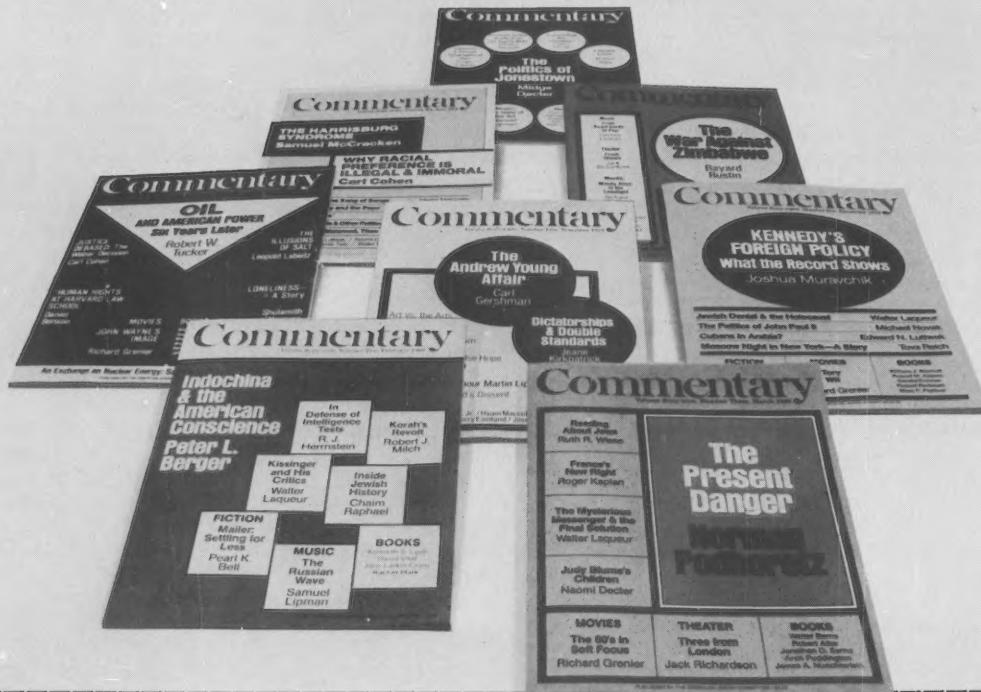
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last two hundred years. Much of it is familiar — the drafting of the First Amendment, the tribulations of the press under the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798-1800, the trials of the abolitionist press, the Civil War suppressions of newspapers, the Wilsonian terror of 1917-1920, and the Supreme Court's efforts over the last sixty years to provide a national definition of the First Amendment. Some incidents are less well-known — a clash between Jackson and the New Orleans press at the end of the War of 1812, a Missouri case of the 1820s and 1830s that led to the impeachment of a federal judge, and the travail of radical journalists in the Gilded Age.

The dimension that Lofton adds to even the familiar material is that of contemporary newspaper comment. Time after time the reader blushes at the product of American editorial writers — not only their bluster and bombast, but the eagerness with which they dismiss the rights of the poor and dissident. Here is historical proof of Murray Kempton's old characterization of editorial writers as those who come down from the hills after the battle to shoot the wounded.

Despite such enlightening stuff, the book as a whole does not live up to its potential. The major historical questions that are implied in the title are indistinctly posed and answered. For example, near the end the author asks a pair of important questions about journalism's attitude toward radicalism and dissent: "Do the media . . . initiate the mood? Or do they merely follow the political leadership in stirring the passions of war or witch-hunting and then succumb to those passions themselves?" Disappointingly, Lofton has already dismissed the questions by declaring that "it is not possible to define cause and effect." One would have thought such definition would be at the heart of the historian's task. Such answers as are given in the concluding chapter tend to the evasive: "Viewed in historical perspective and in the context of many issues, then, the record of the press in defending First Amendment rights has been a mixed one."

Possibly one reason the conclusions

come out so flat is that Lofton has not built a full or challenging historical record. In a book that promises to be a systematic study of its subject, the reader searches hopefully for many hard-fought issues that are, unfortunately, missing. For example, while there is considerable detail about John Adams's campaign against the opposition press of the 1790s, there is, beyond an account of the Pentagon Papers case, nothing on Richard Nixon's efforts in the 1970s against both the establishment and the underground press. The 1930s are passed over without a word on the protracted conflict between the newspaper industry and the New Deal that was touched off by restrictions written into the National Recovery Act. In the McCarthy period, the reader misses any reference to the senator's most notorious attempt to intimidate an editor — his inquisition of the *New York Post*'s James Wechsler, to whose support the American Society of Newspaper Editors came, but wafflingly. Nor, beyond references to the Pentagon Papers and Marchetti-CIA cases, is there an account of the multiplicity of First Amendment questions raised by the Vietnam War. Finally, while the book closed late enough to include the *Progressive* prior-restraint case, there is little on one of its most striking aspects — the substantial newspaper opposition to *The Progressive*'s stand, led by *The Washington Post*. The list could be extended.

The spottiness of the record is the result, one suspects, of unsystematic research. The author relies heavily on out-of-date survey histories and on monographs, rather than on his own exploration. His documentation fluctuates between impeccable newspaper and legal citations and bafflingly off-hand references to textbooks. More than a few basic references — most notably, Emerson's *The System of Freedom of Expression* (1970) — are missing from his list of sources.

All of which is said merely to warn the reader to take the book for what it contains but not to mistake it for a definitive or comprehensive presentation of its subject. It appears to be accurate as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough. ■

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Foreword by
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TO THE REVIEW:

I would like to offer my personal "laurel" to CJR for publishing the excellent piece by Roger Morris, "Reporting for Duty: the Pentagon and the Press" (CJR, July/August).

There are two further points which might be emphasized. First, reporters do a disservice to the American public by lumping the preservation of a credible nuclear second strike capability with the quite separate matter of the comparative balance of conventional or tactical weaponry. The logic governing the use of each system, and what a balance consists of, is significantly different. Public debate is seriously hindered by lumping the systems together.

Secondly, when looking at real or imagined Russian defense expenditures, it is important to remember the geographic situation that places Russia's long southeastern border next to a nation that is (1) violently anti-Russian and (2) the most populous country on the globe. If the United States were faced with such a problem, doubtlessly our expenditure would be quite a bit higher. Obviously a soldier or a weapon can be moved away from the Chinese border to be used against the NATO alliance, but when we try to puzzle out Russian intentions and base our own response on a combination of their intentions and capabilities, we have to remember that to many in the Kremlin it is China, not the United States, that poses the greatest problem. Hence visual comparisons of Russian and U.S. expenditures may distort the actual degree to which the Russian military buildup signifies a threat to the United States or its interests.

MICHAEL J. FRANCIS
Director
Institute for International Studies
University of Notre Dame

TO THE REVIEW:

I am amused by Roger Morris's notion of the press as patsy for the Pentagon. Obviously, he does not know the reporters who work here. In fact, he seems to be a stranger to basic journalistic practice. He did not seek to question me nor, I am told by reporters named in the article, did he seek to question them.

Morris's entire piece hangs on the premise that we have inflated Soviet military

strength. Yet he addresses the issue in just one paragraph of a seven-page article and then completely misses the point.

Morris asserts that our "estimates arbitrarily assumed that military salaries and weapons-production costs in the forced-draft Soviet economy were the same as in the U.S." We make no such assumption. Our estimates are derived in an entirely different way: we count the men and weapons deployed by the Soviet Union (we are indisputably good at that) and calculate what it would cost us to deploy comparable numbers. In that way, we are able to establish what we and our allies must do to maintain equivalence.

That is not propaganda. It is simple good sense.

THOMAS B. ROSS
Assistant Secretary of Defense
Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

TO THE REVIEW:

Roger Morris finds room in his information source sidebar, "Outflanking the Generals," for the American Security Council, which differs from the CIA and the Pentagon only insofar as it is more royalist than the king. But he omits the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, whose 1979 *World Armaments and Disarmament Yearbook* details the case for questioning, as Morris does in passing, the CIA "dollar cost" estimates of the Soviet military budget. Given the tendency of mainline media to treat CIA figures as "sacrosanct," it would have been well to indicate this primary alternative source of information.

JEFFRY LARSON
Hamden, Conn.

TO THE REVIEW:

Roger Morris's excellent article on media coverage of defense matters in the hawkish first half of 1980 seemed to me squarely on target, particularly in its discussion of press enthusiasm for the "rapid deployment force" which now has apparently grown, at least conceptually, to 150,000 men (or almost twice the size of the force the Soviet Union has used to invade the country next door). But Morris's media survey had its blind spots.

I would like to point out at least three ex-

ceptions to Morris's rule, all broadcast during the period covered in your article on ABC News's magazine 20/20.

On January 10, 1980, we reported on the Army's new XM-1 battle tank, pointing out that the Pentagon is committed to an \$11 billion program despite the fact that the tank's turbine engine is performing far below minimal standards and, in the opinion of many experts, may have inherent flaws as a tank power plant. We also showed that one proposed "solution" to the engine's filtration problems involves climbing to the top of the tank to change the filter, an act verging on suicide under combat conditions.

On January 31, 20/20 broadcast a report on the Air Force's campaign to sell the MX missile to the people of the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. The story detailed the environmental, economic, and social disruption the MX project would bring to the area and illustrated how the Pentagon caught the Air Force in several significant misstatements about the weapon and its (since modified) basing scheme.

Finally, on May 1, we broadcast a long report on America's two lead jet fighters, the Navy's F-14 and the Air Force's F-15. We showed not only that the planes' readiness rating is abysmal, but illustrated how the supersophistication of these aircraft can be tactically counterproductive (as well as unnecessarily expensive and unreliable).

In short, 20/20 did exactly the kind of stories Morris said were not being done, and, if the ratings are to be believed, did them for an audience larger than the readership of most of the media outlets cited by Morris combined.

DAVE MARASH
Correspondent
20/20, ABC News
New York

Pulitzer replay

TO THE REVIEW:

I enjoyed tremendously the amusing article on the Pulitzers ("Playing the Pulitzers," CJR, July/August), and especially the mention of the Marin County *Independent Journal*, from which newspaper I did indeed win a dog many years ago for my literary, not musical, skills.

I know your readership eagerly awaits the actual ("25 words or less") statement which

Who really owns Standard Oil (Indiana)?

62.95%

21,215 institutions,
including insurance
companies,
retirement plans,
colleges, estates,
trusts, charities,
foundations, banks,
religious and
fraternal
organizations, etc.



29.59%

154,869
individuals



7.46%

Standard Oil
(Indiana)
employee
savings plans.



Maybe you do. Maybe you participate in the company profits and don't know it.

If you are in a pension plan, or a union—or own an insurance policy, or invest in mutual funds—there's a good chance you have an interest in this company. Many Americans own its stock indirectly. In fact, about 63% of the company is owned by 21,000 separate institutions that represent millions of people. People like you who want their money to grow for their retirement and other future needs.

Plus that, about 155,000 private individuals own nearly 30% of its stock directly. And employees own more than 7% of the com-

pany stock through the company savings plans.

It's easy to picture an oil company as greedy and impersonal. But that image fades fast when you understand that it is millions of individuals like you who really own it. It is people who own the refineries, the pipelines, the tank trucks. It is people who risk their money on exploring for energy and drilling the wells that may or may not pay off. This is free enterprise.

Broad ownership through shareholding is something we can all be thankful for. Because it's shareholders who help provide the funds we continue to invest in America. To find the energy it needs. To help reduce America's

dangerous dependence on foreign oil. And to strengthen America's economy so that people everywhere can prosper.

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**America runs
better on
American oil.**

Standard Oil
Company (Indiana)

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secured the canine prize (and which, for some reason, I have never forgotten):

Although I have three brothers and they are O.K., they do not take the place of a dog when "a feller needs a friend."

DAVID DEL TREDICI
MacDowell Colony
Peterboro, N.H.

TO THE REVIEW:

"Playing the Pulitzers" was a cute idea. However, in the case of the "no-win *Charlotte Observer*," the truth was not so amusing. Our failure to mention the prizes won by the *Globe* and the *Inquirer* was no grand policy decision. It was a sloppy editing oversight for which an editor was reprimanded both privately and in that week's issue of "Notes and Comments," our newsroom poop sheet.

Oh, and about the implication that we were ungenerous in leading the story with Norman Mailer rather than the newspaper awards: while we have no desire to mess with our brethren in the North, we realize that more Carolinians have read *The Executioner's Song* than the Boston or Philadelphia papers.

KATHLEEN SHEA
National editor
The Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, N.C.

TO THE REVIEW:

Suppose Aaron Epstein or Patrick Riordan, who were so amusingly disdainful of the Marin County *Independent-Journal*, had won a Pulitzer? My hunch is they would have expected their hometown newspaper(s) to make mention of the honor. Why shouldn't the hometown folks realize that it is the David Del Tredici they know who received national recognition? And why shouldn't those who may remember him be given the pleasure of saying, "Oh, yes, what a good newspaper carrier he was," or "That's the boy who was so talented musically!"

The *Daily Gazette* is proud of the accomplishments of many of our former carrier-salesmen, even though neither they nor the *Gazette* have received (or probably ever will earn) a Pulitzer Prize.

It seems to me that CJR is doing a disservice to small newspapers, their readers, and their mission in their communities with this kind of subtle, but snide, put-down of the *Independent-Journal* and indirectly of David Del Tredici.

ANNE M. THOMPSON
Co-publisher
Rocky Ford Daily Gazette
Rocky Ford, Colo.

Whose horsefeathers?

TO THE REVIEW:

It was nice to be quoted in your survey of economic campaign coverage ("Horsefeathers: the Media, the Campaign, and the Economic Crisis," CJR, July/August), and the remarks attributed to me were accurate, so far as they went. But it would be unfair to my colleagues and my employer to leave the impression that we settle for a tits-and-bum version of political-economic reporting. Your survey apparently stopped just after the Massachusetts primary March 4, and so did not include a large number of serious and weighty economic reports and analyses of candidates which ran both before and after the primary coverage became a local story for us.

The *Globe* has printed literally thousands of articles about the 1980 presidential election. We've done lengthy profiles, printed texts of speeches, analyzed economic policies, profiled advisers, run charts and graphs detailing differences. Before New Hampshire, we ran elaborate issues comparisons with charts. A reader would have to be blind to have missed economics coverage, not just in the national section but in the business pages and op-ed space. No economic issue was left untouched.

DAVID NYHAN
Washington correspondent
The Boston Globe

Harrison Salisbury reflects

TO THE REVIEW:

As I read the review of *Without Fear or Favor* (CJR, July/August) by my former *Times* colleague Mary Breasted, I was bothered by a sense of *déjà vu*, but it was not until I had reflected a bit that I realized which particular ghost she had stirred. It was the ghost of *Pravda*.

Over the long years I have often read of myself in *Pravda*: "Even the savagely anti-Soviet scribbler Harrison Salisbury is compelled to admit [my italics] that the Soviet Union has achieved a steel production of X million tons," or "Even the chauvinist capitalist apologist Salisbury was forced to report from Hanoi that the U.S. is bombing the Vietnamese capital."

There are many such formulations in Mary Breasted's review, but perhaps the most striking is her assertion that "as Salisbury himself points out" *The Washington Post* was consistently ahead of the *Times* on Watergate. Indeed, Salisbury did point that out. Moreover, he emphasized it and he went to considerable lengths to analyze the "def-

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A MESSAGE FROM ELIOT JANEWAY

This letter to the Editor of **Forbes**, in response to its March 31, 1980 interview attempting to "give the devil his due," is being published in full as a public service advertisement. With it goes the warning that distortion is **not** a "capitalist tool"; nor is suppression of fact. But an irresponsible press is a symptom of a sick society.

The Editor
FORBES Magazine
60 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10011

April 1, 1980

Dear Sir:

I welcome your courageous effort of March 31 to correct the various misimpressions your references to me have created over the years, and hasten to help you complete the job. Your article admits that **Forbes** has distorted my views in the past; it has done so again, this time only with some of them.

Item I. My persistent doom and gloom pronouncements. The record shows that I was the first forecaster with a media presence to go public with a forecast of 1000 for the Dow, and that I aired it in the **New York Times** on the very day, in November 1963, John F. Kennedy was killed and the market failed to make it to the close. The record will also show that I erred on the side of optimism. I gave the Dow a year to go over the top; and it took 13 months.

Late in 1974 when I saw Nixon leaving and Watergate fading away, I went public with the judgment that the coast was clear to switch out of gold stocks and back into U.S. securities. I singled out the utilities as the leaders of the 1974 recovery move; and they led it.

Item II. My optimism about General Public Utilities. I had no direct or indirect interest in the stock whatever. This creation of your writer's imagination was suggested by the judgment I did express with considerable emphasis at the height of the headlined hysteria over the Three Mile Island plant failure; I branded the "Meltdown" scare the phony it proved to be. By the time the Three Mile Island accident occurred in 1979, two years had passed since my widely publicized and uncompromising recommendation to sell all utility stocks. I have not modified that judgment and have no present plans to do so.

Item III. Chrysler is the most explosive breakaway stock on the Board . . . a once-in-a-lifetime special situation . . . This proves conclusively that your reporter is able to read — the beginnings of sentences! This particular sentence went on to warn that the Chrysler special situation "stands out as the acid test of the overall trend — not just of the stock or certainly, not in the auto business, but of America's overall national stance in the world . . . the Chrysler problem won't be solved until the U.S. gets a government . . . able to . . . (start) . . . a bidding contest between the Japanese and the Germans for the privilege of assuming foreign responsibility for bailing Chrysler out." Your reporter's fact checker knows this because he repeated it back to me, verbatim. I never suggested that Chrysler's stock might take off as a self-starter in a political vacuum.

Item IV. Silver and Oil: "He missed the silver boom and advised selling the international oil stocks before they took off." What boom? What take-off?

Item V. The Economy: "Janeway is still gloomy about the American economy." All our ads in leading financial magazines and newspapers say in English plain enough to defy any media propensity for distortion: "No U.S. recession." — just a disaster in Wall Street! If we are suffering from a recession, it will be the first one on record in which travelers with unlimited expense accounts can't find a hotel room! If the economy is driven to the dogs by Carter's quackery, its troubles will become plain enough to show that the argument about a mere recession has all along been academic. The danger then would be a full-fledged depression, not just a recession.

Yours for smuggling ethics into journalism,

Eliot Janeway

Certainly, it is true that no one is infallible; but some financial writers are more inaccurate than others, and some financial editors are more irresponsible than others, in their errors of omission. I erred in talking to these people, and assuming they could, or that they would, report my record accurately — or responsibly.

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erential attitude toward power," which she cites, and other factors, some of them simply accidental, which caused *The New York Times* to run No. 2.

Breasted suggests that I believe "that the *Times* deserves credit for bringing Nixon down." I have made no such assertion nor do I believe either *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post* brought the president down. Nixon brought himself down. The point I tried to make was that Pentagon accelerated the creation of an apparatus and a psychology within the White House which led to Watergate and the "White House horrors." And the Supreme Court in Pentagon reinforced the press legally and psychologically to pursue Watergate with vigor. In this setting, as I wrote, the magnificent team of Woodward and Bernstein worked their magic.

Finally, I devote 196 pages of a 591-page text to relentless pursuit of the interconnections between the CIA and *The New York Times*. This took eighteen months of uninterrupted digging and it unearthed major revelations in the area of perversion of the press by the agency. There are still some fuzzy edges and probably always will be, although I have not myself given up on the inquiry; it will go on so long as I have the breath to ask questions. To dismiss this with a contemptuous shrug tells me something I do not like to know concerning the parameters of Mary Breasted's critical standards. I have not been able to uncover any leftovers of CIA linkage in "the new" *New York Times*. But if she or anyone possesses such evidence, it would be very much in the public interest to step forward and present it.

HARRISON E. SALISBURY
Taconic, Conn.

Reports: a retort

TO THE REVIEW:

It was depressing to find in the "Reports" section of the July/August *Review* a face-value rehash of Michael Harris's piece in the May 1980 *Progressive* on the forest trips that American Forest Institute conducts for the news media.

The reason we conduct these trips is so reporters and editors can see firsthand what's happening in the nation's forests, and what needs to happen to make them more productive. It's preferable to letting the media depend on secondhand information from self-styled experts.

MARVIN G. KATZ
Director, public information
American Forest Institute
Washington, D.C.

Iran -- again

TO THE REVIEW:

Mr. Edward Said's letter (CJR, July/August) like his article "Iran and the Press: Whose Holy War?" (CJR, March/April) recalls the comment of Isabel Boncassen in Trollope's *The Duke's Children*, who noted of her father that "He reads by steam, and he has two or three young men with him to take it all down. . . ." If Mr. Said paid closer personal attention to the content before him, his thoughts would be more coherent. As it is, Mr. Said, in his references to me, does not address the distortions in his rambling article that I cited. Instead, he resorts to contumely and calculated abuse, perhaps in the expectation that by challenging my credentials he can destroy my credibility. I gave the evidence; he has failed even to consider it.

J. C. HUREWITZ
Director
Middle East Institute
Columbia University

Extracted dart

TO THE REVIEW:

Darts to you for not checking your dart (CJR, July/August) thoroughly.

WPFW-FM, the Pacifica station in Washington, D.C., aired a dramatization of the *after-effects* of a nuclear war. The part that apparently frightened some listeners lasted less than a minute. The program was almost a half hour long. Also, whereas Orson Welles fully intended to scare his audience, we did not.

Incidentally, I took calls on the air immediately after that broadcast, and of the some thirty people who responded, only two were upset; the rest commended us for airing a piece of valuable and courageous radio.

DAVID SELVIN
Independent producer
Washington, D.C.

Peons revisited

TO THE REVIEW:

As a journalism major who was taught about ethics and accuracy, I was appalled by Sheryl McCarthy's tactics when she interviewed me for her article about journalism interns ("Peons in the Newsroom," CJR, May/June).

I had a very rewarding, educational, and exciting internship as a student at Rider College, but McCarthy did not want to hear that. She kept prying for my "bad experiences" and asked questions like, "Didn't you feel used?" When I only had praise for the pro-

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gram, I could hear her typewriter stop. She asked me if I knew of any other interns — ones who had bad experiences. If that's not fishing for a story, please tell me what is.

I was shocked by her interview technique, but I became angry when I read the hatchet job she performed on our valuable internship program. We all know how almost anything can be proven if we interview the right people and print only the right quotes. I would expect more from the *Review*.

JUDY B. ROTHOLZ
Recent graduate
Rider College
Lawrenceville, N.J.

Sheryl McCarthy replies: *It was not the intent of my article to do a "hatchet job" on the Rider College internship program, nor do I doubt that the internship Rotholz participated in through the college was a rewarding one. The article makes it clear that the majority of media internships provide students with both valuable educational and professional experiences. The three internships I participated in as a student certainly fell into this category. However, the point of the article was to show that there is growing concern about internship programs that are suspectively conceived, poorly operated, and in*

some cases exploitative. I used the example of Rotholz's colleague because it illustrated the less savory side of the picture.

TO THE REVIEW:

To reply to Elliot Kaplan's letter about his experience as an intern in the Medill School of Journalism's Teaching Newspaper Program (CJR, July/August), the test of the program is that it works, and the fact that Kaplan recommends the experience he had in the program at Bend, Oregon, "very highly" speaks for itself.

Kaplan's dissatisfaction with the lack of communication between him and his assigned faculty adviser the first several weeks of the quarter (fall 1978) is justified. As soon as the problem became known to me, I moved quickly to correct it, and a teaching newspaper faculty member was on the scene in Bend in less than a week. All of this was explained and acknowledged to Kaplan and the other student in Bend at the time. More important, however, is that the individual relationship between a Medill faculty member and a student during the quarter he or she is in the program is only one aspect, although an important aspect, of Medill's "participation." But it is understandable that a student

while in the program might, as Kaplan has, make the assumption that's all there is to it.

Kaplan's claim that his experience was "not in the least unusual" is not borne out by the written evaluations submitted by thirty-four students in the program at the same time Kaplan was. These show that 29 percent rated their Medill adviser "excellent," 62 percent "good," and 9 percent "poor."

RAYMOND C. NELSON
Associate dean and director
Teaching Newspaper Program
The Medill School of Journalism
Northwestern University
Evanston, Ill.

Boomtown (continued)

TO THE REVIEW:

Dart: to Lee Hochberg and CJR, for rehashing a year-old story already twice-told in print and managing to get it only half right. In Hochberg's review of the coverage of the South Texas Nuclear Project (CJR, May/June), he recounts how free-lance writer Andrew Sansom exposed construction faults and lax inspections at the STNP while the Houston dailies — the *Post* and the *Chronicle* — ignored problems at the nearby site and *Houston City Magazine* quashed an article by Sansom and David Crossley on the subject.

Nowhere does Hochberg mention that *The Texas Observer* published a longer, substantially revised version of Andy Sansom's article as the cover story of its July 13, 1979, issue. Hochberg should have been aware of this, since he mentions an accompanying article in that issue: "In July the *Observer* ran a short article on coverage of the STNP called 'Nuclear Oversight.'" Not only is that "short" article, by Vicki Vaughan, as long if not longer than Hochberg's piece, hers is a more thorough review of the press coverage than his. Hochberg also mimics, without crediting, *Breakthrough*'s media critic Gabrielle Cosgriff who wrote the first, and excellent, article on the affair at *Houston City* and on the lousy local coverage of the STNP's problems. If he failed to see the original Cosgriff piece, he could have at least learned of it from the *Observer*, since it was mentioned in that issue on the STNP.

Hochberg goes on to tout his own reporting and in a similar vein points out that *In Between* — a publication he had written for — ran the Sansom story in June, as did *Breakthrough*. The *Observer* had the opportunity to run the piece at that time, too. But the editors here then, Linda Rocawich and Eric Hartman, chose to work with Sansom for over a month, adding new material, getting a response from the builders of the nu-

THE NETWORKS—FROM SARNOFF TO SILVERMAN

Cut-throat competition. Blatant commercialism. Relentless worship of ratings. The charges being leveled against the networks in 1980 were just as true in 1930, says Laurence Bergreen. Taking off from Edward R. Murrow's prophecy that we would "look now, pay later" for commercial TV's insulation of the masses from the realities of the world, Bergreen traces the heated battle for control of America's airwaves—from RCA's two radio networks in the 1920's and the emergence of Paley's CBS, through the explosive growth of color TV, to the current threat of cable and satellite. The only complete, up-to-date history of all the networks, LOOK NOW, PAY LATER is "consistently absorbing...an exceedingly valuable as well as engrossing chronicle."—Publishers Weekly. With photos, \$12.95 at all booksellers.



The Rise of Network Broadcasting
by Laurence Bergreen

•DOUBLEDAY



If polio ever makes a comeback, we can all take some of the blame.

Right now, millions of our kids are not immunized against childhood's most dreaded diseases. Example: 19 million kids are at risk of becoming polio cripples.

What happened? In 1962, the biggest news in health care was the development of the Sabin oral vaccine for each of three poliovirus strains. In most of the world it replaced Salk vaccine, the first polio preventative (administered by injection). In 1963, after investing 16 years in polio research, Lederle Laboratories made mass immunization simple and practical by combining all three Sabin vaccines into a single oral vaccine. Soon, polio was on its way out.

Unfortunately, once the disease was under control, people stopped worrying about it—the general public, the press, the medical profession. We all relaxed our vigilance. So now we have work to do.

Let's work together. The drug industry has the vaccines. Physicians are ready to use them. But public health has always been a job for the community as a whole. No profession has shown more effectiveness in mobilizing community action than the news media—in the past, and right now.

(For more information on pharmaceutical research, write for our booklet "Response to Human Health Needs.")

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AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. ROONE ARLEDGE PRESIDENT ABC NEWS

Dear Mr. Arledge:

After viewing the "20/20" segment on rail safety on June 5, I concluded that "20/20" bears about as much relationship to real journalism as "Charlie's Angels" does to real police work.

Having briefed ABC's producer on the well-documented facts of rail safety, particularly concerning the rail movement of hazardous materials, only to have those facts all but ignored, I must comment on the lack of professionalism displayed in the "20/20" broadcast. With its conspicuously biased report, "20/20" has done significant harm to the reputation of the railroad industry in general and to the individual railroads depicted so inaccurately on this program.

We were informed by the producer before any filming took place that "20/20" was working on the thesis that railroad track is deteriorating, that increasing amounts of hazardous materials are being shipped by rail, and that catastrophic accidents "are waiting to happen." In response to our demonstration that this premise was invalid, "20/20" made several offhanded comments that things were getting better, and proceeded to use ten-year-old film clips in an effort to prove that the predetermined story line was accurate. The resulting broadcast showed reckless disregard for the truth.

Railroads aren't perfect. But the facts, which are available to anyone willing to check them, clearly establish that railroads are the safest way of shipping anything overland. Last year, freight trains moved 70% of all hazardous materials transported within the United States. Yet trains were involved in only 9% of all accidents related to the shipping of such materials. Of the remaining 91% of hazardous materials accidents, 75% of all injuries and 80% of all fatalities occurred on public highways and involved motor vehicles. And as "20/20" knew, but ignored, there were no fatalities last year in rail accidents involving hazardous materials.

Railroad safety has been improving steadily. Last year was the railroads' safest since record keeping began more than one hundred years ago. This is why I am particularly concerned about the distortions and bias of the "20/20" report.

Because I am as much a journalist as a public relations practitioner, I believe the best interests of my industry and the public are served by a full and open discussion of matters of public concern. In that belief, I have always cooperated with reputable members of news organizations. Even after my confrontation with "20/20," I still intend to assist reputable reporters and writers. I hope ABC News will provide some of them.

Sincerely,


Lawrence H. Kaufman
Vice President
Information and Public Affairs

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clear power plant to various charges, and updating the original version.

MATTHEW LYON
Associate editor
The Texas Observer
Austin, Tex.

SDS: democracy in action

TO THE REVIEW:

I had planned to let Edward Barrett's remarks about my article, "Making Democracy Safe for America" (CJR, March/April), in his unprecedented "Publisher's Notes" of March/April, go by without comment, but after hearing much objection and seeing that others have joined in, I feel impelled to add a few words.

Citing no evidence whatsoever, Barrett questioned "whether the SDS was ever as 'democratic'" as I implied. Well, for the record, SDS elected its officers in an annual convention open to all members. It elected a National Council of seventeen officers, who met four times a year along with elected chapter delegates. Those meetings were often heatedly contested, even raucous. Interim policy was set by a National Secretary elected for a year by the National Council. As I argue in the book from which my *Review* article was derived (*The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*), SDS, under pressure from the government and the press in 1965 and after, tended to lose control of its leaders.

Of course, there were early tendencies toward elite rule; in which political organization are there not? But by any standard of representative democracy, SDS was as democratic as they come. There is plenty to deplore about late SDS — I deplore at length in my book — but this is the wrong tack.

Whether, in the words of Barrett's second charge, my "article blames media standards too much for the sins of notoriety-seekers" I leave to the good judgment of readers. A careful reader should note that I was writing about a symbiosis between media and the more flamboyant leader-celebrities; I leave devil theories to others.

TODD GITLIN
Assistant professor of sociology
and director, Mass Communications Program
University of California, Berkeley

Edward Barrett replies: *First, my questioning the degree of "democracy" in the old SDS was based on personal observation at Columbia and other campuses. Second, "notoriety-seekers" existed and made extremist statements to attract attention long before there were any news media. Third,*

with these two reservations, I still think Todd Gitlin's article was perceptive and presented a valid thesis.

CJR double-faults

TO THE REVIEW:

Imagine a magazine commissioning an article from a Mr. B. Imagine that, with no warning to Mr. B, the magazine then publishes under Mr. B's name a piece in which not a single sentence survives from the original save for a few quotes from sources — and which totally distorts the meaning of Mr. B's report. Imagine that the author complains vehemently but is not granted the slightest apology. Then imagine that, in a later issue (CJR, May/June), the magazine publishes a letter from one of Mr. B's sources attacking the sloppiness of his work — and never thinks of asking Mr. B for his reply.

That's what CJR did to me in its handling of an article irrelevantly entitled *Trenchant Frenchmen* (CJR, January/February). Now, what does CJR, as a media critic, think about it?

CLAUDE-JEAN BERTRAND
Le Vésinet
France

The editors offer their sincere apologies to Mr. Bertrand for having failed to consult him on changes last winter and for the subsequent failure to point out that the Review, and not Mr. Bertrand, was primarily responsible for the errors cited in the May/June issue. The Review is taking every precaution to see that such errors do not occur again.

Amway ad: question and answer

TO THE REVIEW:

We are writing in response to the Amway advertisement — actually an editorial — that appeared in the March/April CJR.

The Review purports to be concerned with helping to define — or redefine — "standards of honest, responsible service [and] to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent." Aren't these principles applied to advertisements? We are disappointed that an "ad" as insidious as Amway's could be run *without comment*. At least cigarette and alcoholic beverage ads (also to be found in your publication) are less harmful in that what they sell and even what they represent is more easily discernible. What distinguishes an acceptable ad from one which is unacceptable? Indeed, are any considered unacceptable?

As for the content of the ad itself, there are

more points to be addressed than can be detailed in a letter to the editors. A central point is this: Should Amway be allowed to use the medium of advertising as a vehicle by which to assail such regulatory agencies as the FTC without being countered, without being held responsible for the inaccurate and misleading nature of their data? Such ads do not sell biodegradable soap; they sell an opinion.

EBB LEONARD, JR.
JULIA E. MILJANICH
Hayward, Calif.

The advertiser replies: *Amway has chosen to utilize the editorial format in some of its advertising to expose issues to the light of public scrutiny, and, hopefully, to stimulate public dialogue about those significant national issues. We would not expect that all readers would agree with our point of view.*

Since the ad in question, "Regulatory Overkill! — The Branch That's Threatening the Trees," caused two of your readers to respond, that aim is being met.

The Review comments: *The item in question is clearly an advertisement stating a point of view, conspicuously signed by the advertising company, and avowedly designed "to stimulate public dialogue." It obviously has done that. The Review doubts that it needs to "protect" its readers — presumably mature, thinking adults — from such clearly labeled argumentation.*

Addict's plaudit

TO THE REVIEW:

I always turn first to your "Books" section; I admire the rest of the magazine and get to it all in good time, but I am an addict of "Books." Thank you for William Zinsser's review of *Best Newspaper Writing* (CJR, July/August), and thank you — and William Zinsser — especially for taking me on that stroll down Memory Lane past the dear departed *New York Herald Tribune*. Lewis Gannett, daily book reviewer for the *Trib* in the 1940s, and my teacher at the Columbia School of Journalism, would have appreciated Zinsser's tone and text, and so do I.

MARGARET THOMSON SHONBRUN
The Gainesville Sun
Gainesville, Fla.

Deadline

The editors welcome and encourage letters from readers. To be considered for publication in the November/December issue, letters to the Review should be received by September 22. Letters are subject to editing for clarity and space.

REPORTS

Taking the Initiative, by Randy M. Mastro, Deborah C. Costlow, and Heidi P. Sanchez, Media Access Project, 1980

The amount of money a corporation can put on a presidential horse race is limited by law, but a local referendum on a specific issue is a horse of a different color. As it continues to bask in the Supreme Court's protection of its First Amendment rights, corporate America freely exercises its views in ballot-issue advertising campaigns that are anything but free (over a million dollars, for example, was recently spent by opponents of a nuclear safety initiative in Oregon). Does it make any difference? Media Access Project, a Washington-based public interest communications law firm, decided to find out. Its report on the link between corporate spending and voter behavior in referendum contests is a revealing and significant piece of work.

The report examines three case studies of ballot initiatives presented to Colorado voters in 1976: a beverage container recycling proposal, a bill limiting nuclear power plant construction, and a scheme for reforming the regulation of utility rates. The evidence — complete with charts and graphs detailing comparative amounts spent by proponents and opponents for prime-time and non-prime-time television spots, drive-time and non-drive-time radio spots, and print advertising, correlated with polling data accumulated at intervals throughout the campaigns — is damning. In every case, the initiative was vigorously opposed by corporate interests and corporate money; in every case, the amount of money spent by opponents enormously exceeded that spent by proponents; in every case, voter opinion shifted dramatically, and all three initiatives, popular and seemingly certain of victory at the start, in the end went down to defeat.

What's to be done? Among the MAP's suggestions: citizens must learn how to take full advantage of the benefits of the fairness doctrine, while broadcasters should be held to the same "equal opportunities" rule in referendum campaigns that now apply in candidate campaigns; for its part, the FCC should offer workshops in the use of the fairness doctrine and put pressure on stations to air more public service announcements of a controversial nature. Media Access Project

also believes that a limit placed on contributions and expenditures in referendum campaigns would help to avoid one-sided campaigns of indoctrination, and interprets recent Supreme Court decisions (particularly the 1978 *Bellotti* ruling) as leaving the door open for such restrictions. In the meantime, this depressing study will no doubt stimulate still bigger and better advertising campaigns to shape our public policy.

The Journalist as Cynic, by Mary S. Mander, *The Antioch Review*, Winter 1980

Along with a trenchcoat and a portable, the contemporary journalist's baggage is likely to include at least a small wad of cynicism — and these trappings, according to the thesis of this unusual essay, may be more connected than you might suppose. Mander, who teaches history and theory of communications at the University of Illinois, dates the development of journalistic cynicism from 1914, when reporters suddenly found themselves covering a new kind of war — a war that was fought in the trenches. Thoroughly familiar with the tactics, routines, and communications networks at the front, Mander identifies two pivotal factors which, she argues, combined to produce confusion, frustration, and disillusion in even the most experienced of war correspondents.

Most critical of all, she explains, was the advance in technology, which, by allowing the physical separation of generals from fighting men, eventually led to the separation of fancy from fact: the reality of trench warfare, reporters discovered, did not quite match the perceptions of their regular sources back at headquarters. The other factor was censorship, for the discrepancy between what reporters observed and wrote and what military authorities, editors, and circulation managers allowed to be published added further ammunition to the barrage of unreality exploding on every side.

Ultimately, Mander believes, these failures of truth — some deliberate, some not — transformed the journalist's traditional sense of professional heroism into one of mocking detachment. Psychologically distanced from the events he was covering, yet at the same time possessing a superior knowledge not available to ordinary souls, the journalist

came out of the Great War with a new, and lasting, ironic stance. Thus, she concludes that, contrary to popular belief, it was not the fictional *Front Page* that provided the stereotype of the modern-day journalist. "Rather," she writes, "it emerged from the filthy boxcars of wartime Greece, the cold and dismal foothills of the Carpathians, and the grim and grisly world of the trenches of France."

Newsroom Guide to Polls and Surveys, by G. Cleveland Wilhoit and David H. Weaver, American Newspaper Publishers Association, April 1980

Are you *fairly* happy, as Gallup puts it, or are you *pretty* happy, as the National Opinion Research Center wants to know? Either way, you'll be happier yet when reporting on polls if you avail yourself of this excellent little book, which explains, among other things, how the creative wording of such questions can yield dramatically discrepant results.

Written in plain English for journalists, the eighty-two-page paperback stresses the mix of art and science that produces a finished poll, and provides a painless initiation into the mysteries of both. It explains what to look for in evaluating questionnaires (timing, wording, and order of questions); interviewing procedures (including the hiring, training, and supervision of interviewers); sampling methods (especially, what statistical standards are applied when generalizing from a small sample to a larger population); and results (if several questions are collapsed into one, for example, it is important to know what the originals were).

The authors also have helpful ideas about how to report survey results accurately and understandably, and they draw upon numerous examples from daily newspapers to illustrate recommended approaches as well as pitfalls to avoid — vague, unexplained statements about sampling error, for instance, and overemphasis on insignificant differences (a special danger for headline writers). Summing up, the authors offer a list of sixteen critical questions for journalists to ask themselves when handling information on survey research. The most crucial question of all: Who sponsored the poll?

Teaching Ethics in Journalism Education, by Clifford G. Christians and Catherine L. Covert, Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences, 1980.

Is the press always right? Judging by the way that media ethics is being taught these days, students may well be getting the notion that the press needs no improvement — a clear

sign that one thing that needs improving is the teaching of media ethics. The state of that art is the subject of this thoughtful monograph. Tracing the historical forces that shaped the direction of journalism education as the craft moved toward a higher professionalism, the authors point out that today's ethics courses face a special challenge posed by the enshrinement in journalistic academe of traditional macho newsroom values — the favoring of hard news over soft, aggressiveness in getting the story and unconcern with consequences after it's printed, the deadline imperative to "go with what you've got."

One part of the study analyzes the number and scope of courses currently being offered. Of 237 schools responding to the authors' questionnaire, only 27 percent offer special courses in journalism ethics, nearly 44 percent of which are taught by people trained in law. The result, say the authors, is an emphasis on legal obligations, rather than on moral ones. And all too often, the research suggests, course content amounts to little more than sloganeering about "First Amendment freedom" and "the public's right to know."

Among the many substantive issues that need attention — invasion of privacy and confidentiality of sources, economic tempta-

tions and the adversary relationship, paternalism, whistle-blowing, and professional accountability — none is more compelling, in the authors' view, than fundamental questions of deception and falsehood and the telling of truth. Urging that a scholarly project be organized, the authors outline an agenda that would refine the goals of journalism, formulate a social ethics, and take seriously the matter of justifiability — that is, the principle that the press is behaving morally only when it is so perceived by those outside it.

Trial by Television: Are We at the Point of No Return? by George Gerbner, *Judicature*, April 1980

There may be more — and less — to the idea of televised trials than meets the eye: more unforeseen consequences, less social good. Gerbner, who is dean of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications, would like to see a moratorium on cameras in courtrooms, in order to allow for the further study he deems essential if society is not one day to discover its criminal justice system irreversibly altered by its involvement with television. (Witness, for instance, politics and sports, both of which have accommodated their institutional values

to those of the tube, and which have never been the same.) Another concern, of course, is fairness, and the effect of all the hoopla on a particular case. (See "Cameras on Trial," p. 9.) And as for the question of serving the public's right to know, Gerbner dismisses it easily: what is more likely being served, he suggests, noting the history of judicial circuses from ancient Rome to twentieth-century Florida, is its right to be entertained.

A complementary theme to Gerbner's argument is the way in which criminals and crime, police and prisons, lawyers and judges are portrayed in prime-time entertainment programs. Applying his substantial experience in studying the relationship between television and social issues, Gerbner offers persuasive evidence to support his claim that the images of the justice system presented to viewers bear little resemblance to reality. The televising of real trials, he worries, which will no doubt tend toward the sensational and bizarre — and regularly pause for commercial messages — will only compound the distortions and further blur the distinctions in the public mind. When it comes to ratings, certainly, TV crime does pay; the question is whether the price is more than society can afford.

G.C.



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NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL REPORT

The Review slips on 'banana republics' story

Issue: Was a *Columbia Journalism Review* article accurate, fair, and responsible in its treatment of the Latin American desk of United Press International?

Complaint: Enrique Durand, who was editor in charge of United Press International's Latin American department in New York, complained that an article in the November/December 1979 issue of *Columbia Journalism Review* was a biased "hatchet job" and that it demonstrated a "lack of documentation, doctoring of news reports and unfounded attacks on both the moral and professional capabilities" of UPI.

The article was written by Michael Massing, executive editor of the *Review*. It was headlined "Inside the Wires" Banana Republics."

The article was a critical report on the operations of the Latin American desks of UPI and The Associated Press in New York. The desks provide Spanish-language news services for subscribers in Latin America and the United States. UPI's Latin American desk, for example, receives stories — some in English, others already in Spanish — filed by various UPI bureaus. The Latin American desk selects stories from these filings. It translates them into Spanish when necessary, edits, and transmits them to UPI clients.

Mr. Durand complained of fifteen "falsehoods" or "distortions" in the *Review* article. His complaint pertained only to the Re-

The reports of the National News Council are prepared by the Council and appear in the Review as pertinent information and as a convenient reference source. Publication, which is made possible by the William and Mary Greve Foundation, does not imply approval or disapproval of the findings by the foundation or by the Review.

The Council's conclusions were reached at its meeting last June 12 and 13 in New York City.

view's account of UPI operations.

The *Review*'s response addressed Mr. Durand's charges "in order of their seriousness." It was written by Mr. Massing and was accompanied by a short letter from the magazine's publisher, Edward W. Barrett. This letter characterized the *Review* as "predominantly a magazine of opinion" and said that the article, therefore, involved a substantial amount of interpretation.

Commenting in general on the complaint, Mr. Massing said that it misinterpreted and misrepresented the article and skirted serious charges by "making petty grievances against its language or registering protests against points it did not try to make." He also called attention to the letters section of the *Review*'s January/February 1980 issue, where a letter from Mr. Durand appeared, along with a reply from Mr. Massing, and an editor's note saying that Mr. Durand had been transferred to UPI in Washington. Mr. Massing wrote the Council that he had been told by desk members that the transfer was precipitated by the *Review* article.

**'The story was
not killed as the Review
had said
in the article'**

In its examination, the Council staff interviewed UPI executives, supervisors and members of the Latin American desk, a Latin American bureau chief, outside journalists, and university professors, including Roger Tatarian, a journalism professor at California State University, Fresno, who has been engaged in special studies on the international flow of news and is the former vice president and editor-in-chief of UPI.

The Council staff consolidated the complaint and response into specific areas of analysis for discussion by the Council. What follows is a synopsis of the major issues in dispute:

□ The *Review* article attacked Mr. Durand's handling of a story from UPI's Madrid bureau on a meeting of the World Committee in Solidarity with Chile, a group opposed to the Chilean government. The article charged that Mr. Durand edited the story to emphasize that the gathering had been denounced by the Spanish government as being dominated by the political left. When a desk member pro-

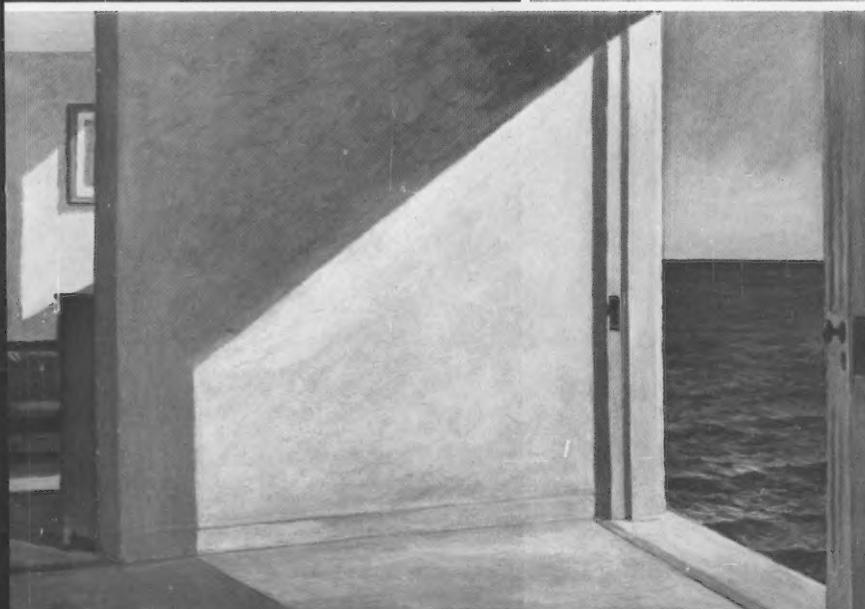
tested the copy changes, the article continued, Mr. Durand responded by killing the story, which had run on the wire for several hours, and "subscribers heard nothing more about the anti-Pinochet sentiments of the Madrid meeting." The story, however, was not killed and the *Review*, which based the charge of suppression on the testimony of an unnamed source, conceded the error in its response. Mr. Massing wrote to the Council that because of conditions imposed on him by his sources he was unable to confront Mr. Durand with the accusation. Mr. Massing also said that he asked for and was denied permission to view the agency's file on the story. Nevertheless, he maintained, the article's charge of biased editing was accurate and passed unchallenged by Mr. Durand.

To this point, the Council staff interviewed Claude Hippéau, vice president of UPI International and chief of Latin American coverage. Mr. Hippéau said Mr. Durand was sent a "letter of reprimand" for his handling of the Madrid story because, in ways that he could not recall, the story did not meet certain UPI standards. But, Mr. Hippéau added, the story was not killed and follow-up stories sent from the Latin American desk were faithful to their English counterparts. Mr. Durand, in his support documentation, provided the Council staff with copies of several days' stories on the Madrid meeting sent by the Latin American desk to subscribers.

□ In its lead paragraphs, the *Review* article charged that the Latin American desk had doctored a UPI dispatch from Rome on the kidnapping of Aldo Moro, transforming it into a "Latin American political parable." The key sentence in the original Rome dispatch read "The ruling party said the secret service of an unnamed power may have staged the abduction to destroy freedom in Italy." The *Review* article then asserted that the Latin American desk had changed the sentence to read "The secret service of a foreign power was behind the abduction in order to procure the destruction of democracy in Italy in the same way that Argentina was enveloped in a wave of terroristic violence." (Italics added.)

Mr. Durand provided copies of both stories that showed the reference to Argentina did not originate on the Latin American desk. It came from the body of the Rome dispatch, had been moved to the lead, and was based on a quote from the official magazine of Italy's Christian Democratic party.

So ordinary, so



extraordinary.



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"Edward Hopper: The Art and the Artist" appears at the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, NY September 23, 1980 to January 18, 1981; Hayward Gallery, London, England February 11 to March 29, 1981; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, The Netherlands April 22 to June 17, 1981; Städtische Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany July 10 to September 6, 1981; The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, IL October 3 to November 29, 1981; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, CA December 16, 1981 to February 14, 1982.

This exhibition is sponsored by Philip Morris Incorporated
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(top left) *Nighthawks* (detail), 1942. The Art Institute of Chicago; Friends of American Art. (bottom left) *Rooms by the Sea*, 1951. Yale University Art Gallery; Bequest of Stephen Carlton Clark, B.A. 1903. (top right) *Early Sunday Morning*, 1930. Whitney Museum of American Art. Purchase, 1931. (bottom right) *Four Lane Road*, 1952. Private collection.

NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL

Both stories identified the source of the Argentine reference, although the Latin American desk version did so several paragraphs after the reference was made.

The *Review* admitted error in translating the story. Mr. Massing said the word "was" should have been "may." He termed the translation error "minor." He called the implication in the article that the Latin American desk had added the Argentine analogy "immortal." He further believed that none of this detracted from his central point that the Latin American desk was guilty of biased editing.

□ Throughout his complaint Mr. Durand questioned why he had not been given the opportunity to rebut information critical of his management. To charges that he had doctored the Aldo Moro story, that he had killed the anti-Pinochet story, that the desk lacked adequate oversight, and others, Mr. Durand repeatedly asked who his accusers were and why he had not been given the chance to respond to their accusations.

The article quoted a number of unnamed individuals identified as members of the Latin American desk staff. One source called the desk's eight Argentine members a "mafia." The article referred to Mr. Durand as its "godfather." Another unnamed source said Mr. Durand "runs the Latin American desk like Stroessner runs Paraguay," and the article added "with an iron fist."

Mr. Massing responded that he had interviewed more than twenty people. He said eight were UPI employees, including Mr. Durand. Four of those, he said, "set anonymity as a condition for granting interviews." Their fears of retribution "help explain why I did not confront Mr. Durand directly with some of the evidence," said Mr. Massing. "My sources prohibited me from doing so before publication of the article. They felt that only the appearance of the piece in print would provide them adequate protection." Mr. Massing said further, "I am not at liberty to name the desk member who called the desk a 'mafia' nor who likened Mr. Durand's regime to Stroessner's; such sentiments, however, were commonly expressed by desk members."

Mr. Massing wrote that he used the word "mafia" with a lower-case "M" in the manner that it has come to be used in "the Kennedys' Irish mafia." Of the headline, he termed "banana republics" a play on words used with "no offense intended" to "convey a sense of the inept and unprofessional performance of the Spanish-language services."

The Council made no judgments on some of the other disputed points. There was general agreement that there was insufficient evidence available to judge whether the complaint and the response were material

and relevant, in these instances, to the broad issues being considered. These points included:

- A statement in the article about "many other desk employees" holding special visas and allowed to remain in this country only while with UPI and, therefore, reluctant to complain about their supervisors. Staff research found that six of the eighteen desk members held such visas.
- A charge that Mr. Durand showed favoritism in assigning shifts and stories.
- A charge that a "distorted mirror" effect resulted because desk personnel had certain characteristics of age, national origin, and political viewpoints.
- Charges of inadequate executive oversight and of insufficient original reporting.
- A charge that Mr. Durand had an "obsession with Argentine news." The article cited an internal UPI study showing that in one month 17 percent of the stories on the Spanish-language wire bore Argentine datelines. The month was one when Argentina and Chile appeared on the verge of war.

Council action: Several serious departures from sound journalistic standards were committed in the *Columbia Journalism Review* article. These included:

- Factual errors. Of these two were particularly damaging in the article alleging news manipulation by the UPI Latin American desk. One was the mistranslation of a critical

**'The Council
agrees that the article was
overblown, overdone,
and exaggerated'**

word from "may" to "was," thus creating the false impression that the Latin American desk had, for political reasons, injected into a report from Rome the statement that "The secret service of a foreign power was behind the abduction" of Aldo Moro. (Italics ours.) Another was the incorrect assertion that Mr. Durand had suppressed a report on a Madrid meeting of opponents of the Pinochet regime in Chile.

□ Unnamed sources. Reliance on unnamed sources as a foundation for broad generalizations and for aspersions on a person's character is always a perilous process. It is totally unacceptable when the source gives his information with the explicit understanding that the substance of the charges cannot be conveyed to the person being criticized for response, even with the confidentiality of the source protected. The erroneous charge that Mr. Durand had "killed" the story on the anti-Pinochet meeting came from such a

source and was never put up to the desk for verification.

□ Sensationalistic descriptives. The tone of the article, as reflected in the use of such pejorative terms as "mafia," "Stroessner," and "godfather" to describe Mr. Durand and his methods of operation, is of particular concern to the Council because all such terms originated with unnamed sources who, for whatever reasons of fear or animus, declined to take responsibility for these strong statements and opinions. Criticism can also be made of the use in the article's headline of the derogatory term "banana republic," a term made no more palatable by the *Columbia Journalism Review*'s disingenuous response that "clearly no offense was intended."

The comment in the headline was typical of the deplorable tone of the entire response by the *Review* to the Durand complaint. The *Review*, for example, called the translation error cited above "minor," though it drastically changed the thrust of the statement. Similarly, it glossed over the incorrectness of its charge that an article was suppressed for political reasons — a charge of utmost gravity in news practice — by asserting that other aspects of the anecdote about the anti-Pinochet meeting illustrate a valid point.

The Council agrees with former UPI executive Roger Tatarian's characterization of the article as "overblown, overdone, and exaggerated." This makes doubly distressing the defensiveness, lack of care, and lack of analysis that flawed the *Review*'s response.

Because of the above shortcomings in the article, the Council finds the complaint warranted.

Concurring: Bell, Benson, Brady, Huston, Miller, Pulitzer, Roberts, Salant, and Scott.

Concurring opinion by Ms. Huston: The *Review* committed the cardinal sin of investigative reporting by relying on verbal assertions instead of putting in the necessary time and effort to carefully examine the documents in question — in this case, wire services stories — and base any conclusion on the results of that examination.

Additional opinion by Mr. Salant: While I fully agree with the Council's opinion and conclusion, I want, additionally, to note my distress concerning, and distaste for, the *Review*'s practice in its letters to the editor segment, of reserving to itself the first word, in the article about which an initial letter is written, and the last word, in the rebuttal to the critical letter. Such a rebuttal may on rare occasions be warranted, but the *Review* includes rebuttals as a general practice. This, I believe, is unfair.

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Note: The following Council members disqualified themselves from any participation on this complaint:

Norman E. Isaacs, due to prior service on Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism faculty.

Elie Abel, former dean of the school, for the same reason.

Loren F. Ghiglione, because he serves on UPI's New England Advisory Board.

William A. Rusher, publisher of the *National Review*, which is in the "Leadership Network" of seven magazines, including the *Columbia Journalism Review*, which sells advertising at a group discount.

Bank supports Gannett story on Paulines

Issue: Was a Gannett News Service report published in the Camden *Courier-Post* on February 29 and headlined PAULINES FACE FORECLOSURE BY BONDHOLDERS inaccurate and unfair?

Complaint: Relying on a letter written in November 1979, by Frank B. Krause, senior vice president of the First National Bank of Minneapolis, the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights charged that statements in the story were in direct contradiction to the letter.

The story challenged by the League was the most current in a series of well more than 100 articles on the financial difficulties of the Pauline Fathers, which led from the sale of bonds to build a shrine at Doylestown, Pennsylvania. The shrine is still incomplete. The Pauline order was accused in the articles of mishandling the bond money.

The Krause letter had said that "the bank's relationships with (Camden Bishop George H.) Guilfoyle . . . over the long period of default on the notes have been courteous, businesslike, open and aboveboard." The League maintained that the Krause letter "still stands as the official position of the bank."

The Gannett News Service disputed this strongly. In its examination, the Council staff dealt directly with an officer of the bank, who preferred to discuss the matter on an "off-the-record" basis, but said the bank would go on the record if it became necessary. The bank officer said language in the news report, "Bank officials say the action was triggered by overwhelming frustration with what they described as a series of stalling tactics, unfulfilled promises and con-

tradictory public statements," was an accurate reflection of the bank's position. The bank officer also said "Had it not been for the Gannett coverage, the distribution (of money seized by the bank from an escrow fund) would have been later." As to the League's stress on Mr. Krause's letter, the Minneapolis banker said the letter had been "very carefully drafted" in response to what he termed a plea from the diocese "to give it some respectability after the appearance of the Gannett articles, if only so that they could continue to raise funds."

Council action: The Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights complaint placed full reliance on the letter written in November 1979, by a senior vice president of the First National Bank of Minneapolis. It is evident that the League believed the letter was an independent action by the bank and constituted a direct challenge to the accuracy and fairness of the published reports in the Camden *Courier-Post*. The Council, however, finds that the bank's letter was written in response to direct requests from church executives of the Philadelphia and Camden diocese and thus the weight of the assertions in it was diminished. Based on the record, the Council finds the Gannett News Service report of February 29, including its references to earlier developments, was accurate and fair. The complaint is found unwarranted.

Concurring: Abel, Bell, Benson, Brady, Ghiglione, Huston, Isaacs, Pulitzer, Roberts, Rusher, and Salant.

Abstaining: Miller.

On the need for attribution to news sources

Issue: Was it bias or professional error not to use attribution in some newscasts when Palestinians raided a kibbutz, Israeli troops counterattacked, and a baby was killed?

Complaint: Dr. M. T. Mehdi, president of the American-Arab Relations Committee of New York, complained that CBS News, on April 7, failed "at least three times" to attribute to Israeli sources a report that a baby was killed in a raid by Palestinians on an Israeli kibbutz. Dr. Mehdi wrote that he called CBS News Radio's foreign desk "and complained that they should attribute the news to its Israeli source. The editors refused and

continued repeating the story without attributing it to its source."

In a mailgram to Brian Ellis, CBS News Radio's foreign editor, Dr. Mehdi asked if the failure to attribute the report to an Israeli source was "the result of bad editing or was there some wicked influence somewhere to affect American public opinion against the Palestinians?"

In his letter to the Council, Dr. Mehdi declared that "This 'information' must have been given either by the Palestinians directly to CBS or a CBS reporter must have been on the spot at the moment of the raid and observed the fact that the Palestinians killed the child." Dr. Mehdi discounted these two possibilities.

"The other alternative," Dr. Mehdi wrote, "is that Israelis gave this information to CBS and CBS failed to do the professional work and refused to attribute the story to its source."

In response to the complaint, Emerson L. Stone, vice president CBS News, Radio, wrote:

In the best of all worlds, most every statement in

THE NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL
1 Lincoln Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10023

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WHAT DO YOU THINK IT IS?

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Then consider
the following:

The car you're
looking at has a
CIS fuel-injected
engine that can
take you from 0 to
50 in 8.5 seconds.

And power-
assisted disc drum brakes that can
take you from 50 to 0 in less than three.

It has 4-wheel independent suspension
to keep you from going like this
on bad roads.

And front-wheel drive to give you responsive handling even in bad weather.

In back, there's a trunk so large it
can hold six suitcases.

All standing up.

And inside, there's room enough for
a family of four.

Got it yet?

Well, maybe it would help to know
that for all its impressive performance
on the road, this car still turns in a pretty
spectacular performance at the gas
pump.

It gets an EPA estimated 25 mpg, 40
mpg estimated highway. (Use "estimated
mpg" for comparisons. Your
mileage may vary with weather, speed
and trip length. Actual highway mile-
age will probably be less.)

You still don't know?

Then we should probably mention
one last thing.

This car doesn't look like what it is,
and most people have a hard time
guessing.

So why don't we just tell you.
We call it the Jetta.

Of course, AutowEEK had a different
name for it.

They called it, "another winner from
Volkswagen."

THINK AGAIN.

every newscast would be attributed; meantime, we report what seems reasonable to us, fairly and without the biases of those who would have things shaped one way or the other as a special pleading, nor have we any cause to do otherwise.

CBS News tries to use reasonable judgment within framework of what listeners can be expected to know or to judge about any given story.

It seems then to come down to the three broadcasts at 7 A.M. and 11 A.M. and 4 P.M. Only in those broadcasts was it stated that the "terrorists" had "killed" one child. (Elsewhere, the fact of the death of that child — and of other persons — was reported, but additional specifics were not stated.) Three different writers produced those three newscasts; three different editors edited them. The consensus of those involved is that to their recollection the wire services on that day made the statement without qualification of responsibility by the guerrillas for the death of the child. This is often done. In fact the vast majority of statements made in most news reports are made without attribution. Even in this same story, statements of the slayings committed by the Israelis were made without attribution to the obvious source of all information for that story that day, namely the Israeli military.

Incidentally, it should be noted also that in some stories such as this one the facts are developed in an evolutionary manner and seeming contradictions or conflicts — even errors of fact — develop between periodic reports as additional information becomes available.

Mr. Stone stated in conclusion that "because of the general aura of military security in which this story was cloaked, its location, its course, and the single nationality (Israeli) of its participants who lived, it can be reasonably expected that the listener would adduce the source of the information accordingly; the timing and the sequence of events of the story logically support the contention, also put forward without attribution by others, that the child died in the hands of the terrorists; and finally, that indeed the evidence points to the fact that the guerrillas did kill the child, intentionally or not."

Staff analysis: Regarding the matter of attribution, all reports examined by the Council — The Associated Press, United Press International, New York Daily News, The Washington Post, and The New York Times — said that there were five Palestinian raiders, and that all were killed. All of these reports originated in Israel. Such being the case, it would seem obvious that the source of the reports had to be Israeli.

The two wire services and three newspaper reports examined attributed their information variously to "Israeli military sources," "Israeli military command," "Israeli authorities," and "Israelis." The Washington Post's report was published under an italicized notice stating that "The following file was subject to Israeli Army censorship."

There were variations among the reports

as to responsibility for killing the baby. For example, one UPI report said that "One adult and a child from the kibbutz died in the counterattack." An AP report said that "Palestinian terrorists attacked a nursery in this kibbutz on the Israeli-Lebanese frontier today, killing an Israeli baby and two adults before troops stormed the children's dormitory. . . ." The New York Times, after reporting on the Israeli counterattack, said that "A two-and-a-half-year-old boy in the dormitory was killed, possibly by the terrorists. . . ." The Daily News reported that "In a sneak attack under cover of darkness, five Palestinian terrorists early yesterday in-

News, Radio. Dr. Mehdi's protest should serve to remind all broadcasters that even in compact form there are instances, in news reports of this nature, where attribution is necessary. However, nothing in the record provides any support for imputations of bias on the part of CBS News, Radio in the handling of these reports. The complaint is found unwarranted.

Concurring: Abel, Bell, Benson, Brady, Ghiglione, Isaacs, Miller, Pulitzer, Roberts, Rusher, Salant, and Scott.

Dissenting: Huston.

Dissenting opinion by Ms. Huston: This complaint is warranted, in my opinion, because CBS led its audience to believe that there was no doubt that the Palestinians killed the baby. In any war, there must always be doubt of any information released by either side. Therefore, I agree with the complainant's assertion that the coverage was "unprofessional" and further, that "such misrepresentation creates hostility in this country against the Palestinians and the Arabs at large."

'Nothing in the record provides support for imputations of bias'

vaded a nursery . . . and in nine hours of terror killed a baby and two adults. . . ." The Washington Post reported that "All five guerrillas and two Israelis, including a 2-year-old child, died during the siege and attack."

It is essential to bear in mind what Mr. Stone said in his letter of response to the complaint, i.e., ". . . that in some stories such as this one the facts are developed in an evolutionary manner and seeming contradictions or conflicts — even errors of fact — develop between periodic reports as additional information becomes available."

It is apparent that additional facts did develop as this story broke and unfolded during the night. As it developed, it became less clear as to when the baby died. Was it during the initial action by the terrorists or during the Israeli counterattack? The New York Times dealt with this by attributing to then Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, after his arrival on the scene, a statement that it was not clear whether he (the baby) had been killed in the assault or earlier. The Times also reported Lieutenant General Rafael Eytan, Israeli chief of staff, as saying that preliminary evidence pointed to the baby having been shot by the terrorists during the night.

Council action: The Council believes that attribution is important in many news accounts, and this should be kept particularly in mind where terroristic acts are involved. All wire service and newspaper reports examined by the Council make it evident that the information on the death of the baby came through Israeli sources. This is not similarly evident, however, in several of the transcripts submitted to the Council by CBS

How to complain to The National News Council

The National News Council takes complaints from any individual or organization concerning inaccuracy or unfairness in a news report. It also takes complaints from news organizations concerning the restriction of access to information of the public interest, the preservation of freedom of communication, and the advancement of accurate and fair reporting.

The procedure to follow in filing a grievance is simple:

Write to the news organization and send a copy of your letter of complaint to the Council.

If you are not sure to whom to address your complaint at a news organization, send it directly to the Council. A copy will be forwarded to the appropriate news executive.

If your complaint concerns a printed news report, include a copy of the report, the name of the publication, and the date.

If your complaint concerns a radio or television news report, include the name of the station, the name of the network, and the date and time of airing.

Be sure to include as specific information as possible as to why you are complaining.

Complaints should be addressed to:

The National News Council
One Lincoln Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10023



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The Lower case

Javits calls for cut in federal taxes



Democrat and Chronicle
(Rochester, N.Y.) 6/29/80

Crowds Rushing To See Pope Trample 6 To Death

Journal Star (Peoria, Ill.) 7/9/80

Giant Attacks Food Coupons

The Washington Post 6/4/80

Buildings sway from San Francisco to L.A.

The Cleveland Press 5/27/80

Stop smoking or, if practical, switch to another birth control method.

Lewiston (Me.) Daily Sun 4/2/79

Hunts expose selves in interview

Gannett Today (White Plains, N.Y.) 7/24/80

Gacy murder victims hope to be identified

The Times-Mail (Bedford, Ind.) 6/23/80

Baseball Talks in 9th Inning

Philadelphia Daily News 5/22/80

B.C. forest industry awaits white paper

The Vancouver Sun 6/23/80

Jamaican officials considering arson

Times-Standard (Eureka, Calif.) 5/21/80



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Fairfax Northern Virginia Sun 6/26/80

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